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*William Sancroft.
Archbishop of Canterbury.*

*Engraved by Henry Meyer from an Original Painting
by Suttell at Lambeth Palace.*

THE LIFE
OF
WILLIAM SANCROFT,
ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

BY
GEORGE D'OYLY, D.D., F.R.S.
RECTOR OF LAMBETH.

THE SECOND EDITION, REVISED.

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PREFACE

TO

THE SECOND EDITION.

THE first edition of the *Life of Archbishop Sancroft* having been for some time out of print, the Author has been encouraged, by the demand which has existed for the work, to prepare this second edition. In so doing, he has taken the opportunity of revising the whole; and has here and there been enabled to add a few extracts from original letters of the Archbishop, which have been sent to him by private friends; but, with the exception of a few additions and corrections, the *Life* remains the same as in the first edition.

It has been thought right to add, in an Appendix, three occasional Sermons of the Archbishop; the only sermons which it is known that he ever published: and to these is added the celebrated tract called *Modern Policies*, originally published during the time of the

a 2

Commonwealth ; a tract, which, though never printed with the Archbishop's name, was universally attributed to his pen ; and which possesses so much intrinsic merit, that it is well worthy of being preserved.

LAMBETH,
January 15, 1840.

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THE LIFE

OF

ARCHBISHOP SANCROFT.

CHAPTER I.

FROM HIS BIRTH TO HIS EXPULSION FROM HIS FELLOWSHIP.

His Birth and Family—Education—Academical Degrees—Election to a Fellowship at Emmanuel College—Studies—Firmness and Uprightness of Character—Refusal to take the Oaths of the Covenant and the Engagement—Expulsion from his Fellowship.

THE name of Archbishop Sancroft will ever be held in high veneration by every true member of the Protestant Church of England. It was his fortune to hold the first situation in that church, at a time when an infatuated monarch, bigoted to Romish superstitions and corruptions, was endeavouring, by all the arts and power which he found himself enabled to employ, to effect the downfall of the Protestant Church; and, in so doing, was not scrupling to trample on the civil and religious liberties of the people. It was chiefly owing to the decision and the firmness of the venerable primate, that these designs were successfully withstood; and all who value our constitution in Church and State, and especially who are ardently and affectionately attached to the great cause of Protestant Christianity, as now established amongst us, must feel, that to him more than to any other single person, they are mainly indebted for the preservation of all that they hold dear, from the danger which then threatened.

3 It has generally happened to those who have risen from private stations to eminence of rank, that few particulars respecting the early periods of their life are preserved to posterity. Such has been peculiarly the case with Archbishop Sancroft, for the tracing of whose early history the materials are much less abund.

ant than might have been expected, considering the natural partiality to his memory of his friends and admirers, and the respect universally borne to his character and virtues.

William Sancroft, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, was born at Fresingfield, in the county of Suffolk, January 30th, 1616-17. He was the second son of Francis Sancroft, by his wife Margaret, daughter and co-heiress of Thomas Butcher, or Boucher*; being one of a numerous family, consisting of two sons and six daughters.

The family of Sancroft was of considerable antiquity and respectability, having been settled at Fresingfield, and having possessed property there, from the time of Henry III. or Edward I†. About that time, Adam le Bavent, son of Roger le Bavent, Knight, granted and confirmed to Henry, son of William Sancroft and Margery his wife, and the heirs of the said Henry, divers tenements of lands "in the parish of Fresingfield or in Stradbrook:" and subsequently to this grant, the property had devolved in regular descent on persons of the name of Sancroft, who, as may be collected from the register-books of the parish, had uniformly resided on it. The Archbishop appears to have been particularly curious and diligent in tracing out the different records relating to his family. There exists at present‡, extracted

* The name is variously spelt: it is Butcher in the parochial register of the marriage, as copied by the Archbishop's own hand; and Boucher in the pedigree now existing, written by the same hand.

† Henry Wharton, chaplain to Archbishop Sancroft, has made the following note respecting the Sancroft family:—"Familia de Sancroft sedem habuit apud Sancroft Stadbroke et Fresingfield, amplasque ibidem et in vicinia possessiones obtinuit, a tempore saltem Edwardi I. Regis, quod constat ex pluri mis instrumentis, autenticis, quæ vidi penes W. S. A. C." (Willm. Sancroft, Archbp. Cant.) See Lambeth MSS. 577. There is now, in the possession of the descendants of the Sancroft family, the original grant of arms

from the Heralds' Office to William Sancroft (afterwards the Archbishop), mentioned as Prebendary of Durham, and Dean of St. Paul's, dated January 26, 1663. The grant is to his elder brother Thomas and to himself, described as descended from a very ancient family of the same name, which had for many centuries flourished in those parts. Arms, "In campo argenteo super tignum rubeum tres columbas candidas inter tot cruces patentes, sanguinei itidem coloris." Crest, "Super torque argenteâ et rubêâ serpentem viridem crucem sanguineam in ore suo gerentem."

‡ In the possession of the Rev. Mr. Holmes, of Gawdy Hall, Suffolk, to whom the property of the Sancroft family has descended.

with his own hand from the register-books of the parish of Fresingfield, a list of the births, marriages, and deaths of all the members of the Sancroft family, beginning from the year 1539; also an account of the Charter of Adam le Bavent*, and the line of the family pedigree brought regularly down from the first possessors of the property†; and, together with these, a deed relating to property which belonged to the family in the time of Henry III.

The name of the family has been variously written, as was frequently the case with proper names, in times when little attention was paid to correctness of spelling‡. The Archbishop himself, in the early part of his life, wrote the name Sand-

* The following is the account of the charter:—"The charter of Adam le Bavent, son of Roger le Bavent, Knight, whereby he gave, granted, and confirmed, to Henry, the son of William of Sancroft and Margery his wife, and the heirs of the said Henry, for their homages and services, and fourscore marks of silver which they paid, a certain messuage of his, together with his houses and buildings, in the parish of Fresingfield, in the hamlet of Chebendale, with all his lands and tenements, wheresoever lying, in the said parish of Fresingfield, or in Stradbroke, together with all feedings, commons, woods, plains, ways, paths, ingresses, egresses, homages, profits, wards, reliefs, together with all other things, which may in any-wise appertain to him and his heirs, on account of the said tenement, &c., and this he warrants against all persons, as well Jews as Christians, &c. This charter has no date, but it seems to be as old as the reign of Henry III."

† Respecting one of his ancestors, the Archbishop writes thus: "Robert Sancroft, a younger brother of William, (a godly man,) went with King Henry VIII. to Bulloin; and, as he went, he was drowned; the gunns being negligently left, and in a rough

sea falling all on one side, and so overturning the shipp."

‡ In a marginal note to the deed already mentioned, of the time of Henry III., the Archbishop remarks that "the name is here called de Sandcrofte;" that "in all the deeds of the messuage till after the 12th of Edward III. the family are called de Sancroft, and, after that, Sancraft and Sandcroft: only Simon (32 Edward I.) writes de Sandcroft." In the extracts from the parish register-books, made by the Archbishop, the name is written Sancroft from the year 1539 to 1553; from the latter period to 1646, always with the *d* in the first syllable, Sandcraft, Sandcrofte, and Sandcroft: subsequently to the latter date, uniformly Sancroft, without the *d* inserted and without the final *e*. It is a curious proof of the looseness which prevailed in spelling this family name, that in the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum (No. 3785.8) is a letter dated December 2, 1631, from Francis Sandcrofte "to my loving brother Mr. Dr. Sandcroft," (apparently from the father to the uncle of the Archbishop,) in which the same writer spells the name differently in signing the letter and in the superscription of it. In the Harleian cata-

SANDCROFT.

In the reign of Hen. III. WILLIAM=Alice.

— HENRY=MARGERY.

In 32nd of Edw. I. —

— SIMON=

In 12th of Edw. III. —

— JOHN=

In 21st of Ric. II. —

— JOHN=

In 10th of Henry VI. —

— STEPHEN=

In 49th of Hen. VI. and in the 1st of his recovery of his crown. In this charter, all that messuage called Sandcrofts in Fressingfield.

— JOHN=

— JOHN=

In 14th Hen. VII. —

— ROBERT=Alice, daughter and co-heiress of Robert Godbold, of Fressingfield.

In 20th Hen. VIII. —

— WILLIAM=Alice, sister and co-heiress of Peter, son of Lawrence Studhaugh, Esq. Lord of the Manor of Hempstead, &c.

— FRANCIS=CATHERINE, daughter of Peter Gooch, of the parish of St. Margaret's of Ilkeshall.

— WILLIAM=Alice, daughter of John Stokes, of Drenkeston.

JOHN, a merchant, who died in the East Indies.

WILLIAM=GRACE, daughter of Robert Girling, of Fressingfield.

WILLIAM, six years old in 1627.

FRANCIS=MARGARET, daughter and co-heiress of Thomas Boucher, of Wilby.

DEBORAH, wife of George Borret, of Stadbrook.

WILLIAM. (Archbishop.) THOMAS.

DEBORAH.

ELIZABETH.

ALICE.

FRANCES.

MARY.

MARGARET.

croft, but in the latter part, uniformly Sancroft, probably from having satisfied himself by inspecting the family records that this was the best authorized and the most correct*.

It is stated† that William Sancroft, the subject of this memoir, received his education at Bury, and that in his early years he afforded many proofs of his future greatness, in the piety which he exhibited, and the extraordinary advances which he made, exceeding the expectations of his instructors, in various branches of useful learning.

When he arrived at the age of eighteen, he was sent to the University of Cambridge, as a member of Emmanuel College. He was admitted on the matricula of the University, July 3rd, 1684. His destination to Emmanuel College was determined, no doubt, by the circumstance of his uncle, Dr. William Sancroft, being at that time Master of the college: he was deprived indeed of this relative and patron before he had passed through his academical course; still he must be deemed peculiarly fortunate in having commenced it under such superintendence, considering how important it is to a young man, at so critical a period of life, to be placed under the observation and control of an elder friend, who may assist in directing his demeanour and his studies. His tutor was Mr. Ezekiel Wright, afterwards rector of Thurstaston in Leicestershire. Towards this gentleman he appears in the later periods of his life to have borne peculiar respect. In a letter addressed to him after a lapse of some years, he expresses, in the following warm and glowing terms, his feelings of gratitude for the benefit he had derived from his instruction and counsels.

“It were ingratitude beyond all excuse, if I should forget what direction and encouragement I received from you in my studies, while your counsel was both card and compass to me in my course, and your favour the gale that filled my sails. God

logue, the mode of spelling it Sandcroft has been adopted; but this must be deemed erroneous, as being opposed to the authority of the Archbishop, after he had inquired closely into the matter.

* The latest period at which I have

observed the family name written Sandcroft by the Archbishop, is in a letter to his father, dated January 11, 1648-49. His father died very shortly after this, and then it probably was that he altered his mode of writing it by omitting the ~~d~~.

† See *Biographia Britannica*.

return into your bosom seven-fold the kindness which I have found from you; and may I be happy once in an opportunity to let you see how glad I would be to serve you*."

Of the manner in which he prosecuted his studies in the course of his academical education, no particular record is preserved; only it is stated generally†, that, during this period, the accomplishments which he acquired in human literature were very surprising; that he became an admirable critic in the various branches of classical learning; that his acquirements in poetry and history were considerable; and that he spent the greater part of his time in the study of theology.

He proceeded to the degree of Bachelor of Arts, in 1637. It is well known that, in the examinations for this degree at the University of Cambridge, proficiency in mathematical science and natural philosophy has always been the chief object of attention; and, as we perceive no traces of Mr. Sancroft's having directed his studies particularly in this line, we may thus account for his not having attained as distinguished a place in the list of honours of the year, as his superior talents and various attainments might have led us to expect. However, his name appears eleventh on the list, a situation which, if not sufficient to satisfy the most aspiring ambition, must at least be deemed one of very creditable eminence‡.

It is always interesting and pleasing, in sketching a biographical memoir, to catch a glimpse at the more private scenes of life, where the shades of character are most clearly marked, and painted in their most genuine colours. Such a view of Mr. Sancroft's character at this early period of his life, happens to be

* See Tanner's MSS. v. 61, p. 66. The letter is dated August 19th, without expressing the year; but, as it is placed in a volume relating chiefly to 1644, it was probably written in that year.

† See *MS. Athena Cantabrigienses in the British Museum*, by MORRIS DRAKE MORRIS, Esq.

‡ On consulting the register-books for the order of seniority of Bachelors of Arts in 1637, I find that it stands

as follows: under the head, "Ordo Senioritatis Baccalaureorum, Dom^a. Pooley Pembr." and nine below him in the column. Then another column, beginning "Dom^a. Sancroft Eman.," and seven others below him. The probable inference is, that the first column contains the Wranglers, and the second the Senior Optimes, of whom, if this be the case, Sancroft was the first.

preserved in some letters which passed between him and a dear friend and fellow collegian, Arthur Bownest, then labouring under fatal disease, and in another written by Sancroft to his father, relating the decease of this youthful friend, and expressing his deep sorrow for his loss. These letters exhibit, in a very amiable point of view, the warmth of Mr. Sancroft's affections, the strength of his piety, and the chaste and correct tone of his feelings; and show that the qualities of his heart and understanding had already attained to a maturity of growth much beyond his years.

Arthur Bownest writes thus to William Sancroft at the time of his illness.

"Thy weak friend must now entreat a pardon for not writing. My health is still at the same pass, no amendment, neither is there perceived any sensible decay this day, which was not seen the day before. I resolve to lie upon my God, whom I know to be loving and more than fatherly. I give Almighty God thanks, I expect death, and shall be willing to embrace it in Christ Jesus my Saviour. Good Will, pray for me still; thou knowest what the Scripture saith, which is as true as we are, I have a being."

The following is part of a Latin letter from the same.

"Gulielmo, meo dicam an mihi? Salutes omnes valetudinarius sanitatem, mœstus lætitiâ, solitarius societatem comitatemque precor et precabor."

The following are extracts from three letters* addressed by Sancroft to the same friend.

"Arthur,

"I received thy letter: I am sure I do thee no wrong in calling it so, for it is in my eye but half a syllable. I am sorry to hear thee say, that thy distemper enforced thee to be short, but I hope thou wilt shake it off. It is in my conceit a good step to health that thou hast cast off thy fears; the disease will be the less able to hurt thee, if it finds not a party within.

* Tann. MSS. 67. 227. The letters written in 1638 or 1639, being bound have no date, but appear to have been up with other letters of those years.

Fancy is a bad physician, and creates diseases instead of curing them. Send me word every week how thou art for thy health ; I hope to hear good news of it. All that I can do is to pray the great Physician, that He would be pleased to make the disease of thy body the physic of thy soul ; and when it hath done the work it came for, to remove it, and restore thee to thy former strength. In the mean time I know my loss, and am sensible of it."

" I expected a letter, and I doe still with a great deal of impatience, being exceedingly desirous to be informed what success it hath pleased God to grant those meanes which He hath ordained and thou used. I hope by this time thou hast found the country aire, and the weather too, thy friends. The face of the heavens changeth not, but it bringeth thee to my thoughts ; and I am still scanning how thou droopst in this shower, and holdest up thy head againe in that sunshine.—Truth is my witnesse ; every day I bow my knees to that great Physician, that He would be pleased to make thy bed in thy sicknesse and in the darkest night of thy affliction, let the comforts of his Spirit shine upon thy soule, that He would sanctify his hand upon thee, and in his due time remove it, that thou mayest yet praise Him in the land of the living.

"Thy affectionate friend till death,

Apr. 28.

"WM. SANDCROFT."

"My dearest friend,

"I perceive by thy mother's letter that it hath not yet pleased God to remove his hand from off thee. I have nothing that I can bestow upon thee in this case but *preces et lacrymas*, and those thou hast *calidissimo affectu utrasque*. Cast not off thy confidence, thou knowest whom thou hast believed ; wait still upon Him, and be doing good ; and doubtless, He will bring it to passe. Tho' He kill thee, yet trust in Him, but yet despaire not of life ; that were to distrust his power. It may be He will suffer thee to be dead to thine owne hopes, and thy friends too, that His power may shine the more clearly in raising thee up againe. Or what if there be in thee some drosse still, which

must be purged out, before He will take thee out of the furnace. Or what if patience hath not yet had her perfect worke? Whatever it be, assure thy soul that God of very faithfulness hath afflicted thee, that He might seal unto thee thy instruction and assure thee of thy adoption. God never spared the rod when He loved the child. *Unicum habuit filium sine flagitio, sine flagello neminem.* Thou must be tried in the fire, before thou canst be worne as a signet on His right hand. And after this messenger from God hath done his worke in thee, which He sent it for, it shall be removed from thee. I can shew thee one in Scripture that recovered of a consumption; let that put life in thy hopes. (Job xxxiii.) ‘His flesh was consumed away, &c.’”

The letter to his father, announcing the death of this much-valued friend, is dated from Emmanuel College, May 27, 1641*.

“Dear Father,

“The sad news which I shall tell you, you know already, but give me leave to weep it over again into your bosom, and that will be some ease to mine. I have lost the companion of my studies, my friend by choice, my brother in affection: I shall sum up all if I tell you I have lost my dearest Arthur Bownest. One in whose acquaintance I promised myself, nay, found so much, as I never durst hope for, till I found it experimentally, and now despair ever to find the like. Besides those abilities natural and acquise, wherewith God had enriched him; besides that virtuous disposition, and those many powerful attractives in his carriage, whereby he won the love and affection of all that knew him, one thing there was, which made him deservedly more dear to me than others, and that was his exceeding love to me, which I know to have been so great as few brothers equal, none exceed. ‘I am distressed for thee, my brother Jonathan, very pleasant hast thou been unto me, thy love to me was wonderful, surpassing the love of women.’ Four days before he died I was with him; and when I had taken my leave of him, and was gone out of the chamber, he called for me again, and again bade me farewell in the Lord, and fixing a ghastly eye on me, and putting his bones about my neck, (for that was all that was left

* See Tann. MSS. 66. 116.

of his arms,) he prayed God to bless me, and told me he should never see me more in this world. I was at his burial, and helped to lay him in the bed of rest: and now there is nothing left for me to do, but to love his memory and imitate his virtues, which God give me grace to do. He was mortified to all worldly things long before he died. Yet, father, I know he found not more difficulty to part with any thing than with me his unworthy friend; so dearly did he love me. I know he is now a glorious saint in heaven; and it is but self-love that makes me thus bewail his loss. Sleep on, blessed soul, upon the downy lap of eternity; thy name shall always be to me as an ointment poured forth; and, when I forget thee, let this be my punishment, to feel another (and) as great a loss. If he might have had the making of his own will, I am sure I should have been heir of all: but his father would not suffer it. Yet thus far he prevailed, that no man should see a paper or note-book of his (whereof he had many) but I: and his reason was, he said, because I loved him, and would bear with any imperfection in them. His father bade me take what books I would. One I took and no more, as a remembrance of my dead friend. His mother hath since sent me, as a token, a bridle and saddle which he had made for him a little before his death. O that good woman! she is the object of my pity; her life was bound up in the lad's life, and she will go down sorrowing into the grave. Sir, I am sorry to have benighted your thoughts with this sad narration, yet you see I cannot get out of it. When I have such a subject, it is easier to fill sheets than to confine myself to a page. I had nobody to whom I might better unlade my heart, for it was swoln with grief; and yet there is one thing behind (which I will tell you when it shall please God to bring me again into your presence), which is the sorrow of sorrows, the first-born of all my griefs."

His sorrow for the loss of this endeared friend, seems to have long occupied his mind. Writing to his father nearly a year afterwards, (April 4, 1642,) he says, "I have lately obtained of my tutor the picture of my ever dearest friend, Sir* Bownest,

* This is the title formerly given to bachelors of arts, the translation of the Latin Dominus.

now in bliss; so like him, that every glance renews, as his dearest memory, to my own deserved sorrow. His converse was so sweet and so full of affection, that, methinks, an university life hath not been to me so desirable since I lost him, as before. Pardon this impertinency; I must needs break forth sometimes on which I spend so many thoughts*."

At this period of his life, he seems to have been in great danger of losing one of his eyes from an accidental blow. Writing to his father from Cambridge, under the date of March 2, 1641, he expresses himself on this occasion in the following pious and feeling strain:—

"I pray God make me thankful for this great deliverance. I think I could not have been nigher losing my eye; I kept it still. We are not enough apprehensive of common Providence that watcheth over us every moment. We set not a step but in the midst of dangers; and that some fatal mischief does not overtake us every time we go forth, is wholly to be attributed to His goodness, who has always a watchful eye fixed upon us for our good. And, indeed, I think 'tis good for us sometimes to fall into the like danger that I have done, that so our own experience may inform us that there is a Providence, that watcheth over us, and makes us sensible of the need we stand in of it."

Mr. Sancroft proceeded to the degree of M.A. in 1641. A short time previously, in a part of the letter just cited, we find him thus writing to his father:—

"Sir,

"The commencement draws on apace: Sunday, some five weeks, is the day. I have some interest in that solemnity, because I shall then receive the complement of my degree. If there be any contentment in this, 'tis reason you should have the flower of it, and therefore, according to the custom of the university, I doubt not but I shall see you here. I would desire you to send me word without fail by the carrier, whom you think fitting to bring with you, that you may not come unexpected, unprovided for; and to speak to them to come: and when I have

* See Tann. MSS. 63 3.

heard from you, I will write to them, and invite them in particular, if it be needful."

It is probable, from the course of his education, that he was from the first designed for holy-orders. It is not to be ascertained at what precise time he entered on the ministry, nor by whose hands he was ordained; but a letter addressed by him to his father, nearly fixes the period to the autumn of the year 1641. In this letter*, bearing date September 10th in that year, he expresses, in the following terms, his very serious feeling of the duties of the ministerial office, and of the deep responsibility which attached to it.

"I have lately offered up to God the first-fruits of that calling which I intend, having common-placed twice in the chapel; and if, through your prayers and God's blessing on my endeavours, I may become an instrument in any measure fitted to bear his name before his people, it shall be my joy and the crown of my rejoicing in the Lord. I am persuaded that for this end I was sent into the world; and therefore, if God lends me life and abilities, I shall be willing to spend myself and be spent upon the work."

To a person of his habits and pursuits, and with no other prospects of advancement in life than those which arose out of his own exertions, it must have been a very important object to attain a fellowship in his college; an object in which he appears to have succeeded towards the middle of the year 1642. In the prospect of sitting for a fellowship, he thus writes to his father in October, 1641:

"Since I wrote to you last, my tutor was presented by the master and fellows to a college-living in Leicestershire; so that within this half year it may be I shall be capable to sit for a fellowship. In the mean time, I shall endeavour, with God's blessing, to fit myself for the trial, and leave the success to God; desiring you, as I also resolve myself, to keep yourself resolute for contest in either event, that I may let it go, if so it falls out, as quietly as I would embrace it. We are as arrows all of us in the quiver of Providencce; and, when God calls us forth, and sets us

* Tann. MSS. 66. 198.

upon the string, we must be content to rest satisfied wherever He shoots us."

It seems that the violent proceedings of the Commons paved the way for his more early election, by their declaring some fellowships vacant. He says, in a letter to his father, dated April 4, in that year *:

"There is an order lately come from the House of Commons for the admission of Mr. Worthington, fellow of our college, and this afternoon it is expected he will be admitted. There is also another order for the pronouncing of the three senior fellows, who are superannuated, *non socii* presently, and choosing others into their room; but, because they stand by the king's dispensation, and the order is only from the Commons, I think our master will hardly venture to pronounce them."

In a subsequent part of the same letter, he consults with his father in the following terms, respecting some trust property, the holding of which might interfere with his acceptance of a fellowship. The concluding part of the extract is very observable, as evincing at this early period, that high tone of conscientious feeling, which afterwards proved so conspicuous a feature in his character, and influenced the greater turns of his fortune.

"One thing I must acquaint you with. When I was in the country, you know there was an overture of assigning some lands to yourself and me. Now, if it should please God to dispose of me (in) a fellowship in the college, (which is yet doubtful,) you know our statute, that none can be Fellow who hath 20*l.* per annum. Now, my quære is, whether this assignment, (though but in trust,) especially if the trust be not mentioned in the instrument, will not invest me with such an estate in lands as will disable me from taking this preferment in the college. That nobody knows of it, I weigh not; for I desire more a thousand times to approve myself to God and my own conscience, than to all the world beside. If it be not done, I pray, sir, think of it before you do it; if it be done, and you find it will touch upon the statute, let it be undone. I would not be too scrupulous, nor yet too bold with my conscience. If it be a needless scruple, I had rather show myself to have no law, than no conscience:

* Tann. MSS. 63. 3.

however, I permit it wholly to you, desiring you to inform yourself and do accordingly. It is a thought that came across my mind since I received your last letter, and I could not but acquaint you with it."

During his residence at the University, subsequently to his taking his degrees, he seems to have applied himself closely to the diligent cultivation of his talents, and to have taken a wide range through various branches of polite and useful literature. "I pray, sir," he says, in writing to his father, in September, 1641, "send me the winter gown faced with fur, which I wore sometimes when I was at home last; for I purpose, if it please God to bless me with health, to sit close at my study this winter, and not to stir any whither."

There happen to be still preserved in the Lambeth MS. library*, four of his academical orations, made during his residence on his fellowship. One of these was delivered, probably in the senate-house, Nov. 5, 1642, in commemoration of the day†; another, bearing date in the year 1645, is stated to have been delivered on his commencing the office of Hebrew Professor another, without a date, on his commencing that of Greek Professor. These orations are by no means destitute of merit, but

* See Lambeth MSS. 595. 143, &c.

† It may be proper to give, as a matter of curiosity, some short specimens of these juvenile performances. That on the 5th of November begins—"Quod in ipso statim orationis vestibulo Romanis numinibus, Timori et Pallori impensè adeo operatus sum, ut nec vox nec lingua viam expediant, non est quod vehementius miretur aliquis. Nam si antiqui oratores, divini homines in dicendo, cum suas aut amicorum fortunas privatas in discrimine positas viderent, expalluerunt in principiis dicendi; quis tremor, quis horror, quæ cunctatio animi mihi oboriatur necesse est, de illo ingenti rei omnis publicæ discrimine dicturo hodie, quod nemo unquam paulo humanior nisi profundo stupore defixus cogitavit."

Speaking of the pope: "Incubus aliquis dæmon putidâ cum meretrice

rem habens, monstrum hoc horrendum informe, fraterculum Gigantum, Ceo Enceladoque, et Typhæo germanum progenit, prolem utique quæ utrumque parentem non obscuris indicibus referebat."

There is much in similar style. It ends thus: "Deus O. M. rerum nostrum stator, Magnam Britaniam sospitet, et majorem suam Britanniam Carolum, in hoc præsertim ferreo sæculo, atque impedito reipublicæ tempore, ut deterens sub quâ luctatur importunâ nubeculâ, pulchrior aliquando exerat illustre caput; et cui tandiu unice studuit optimus principum, in priscum aurum refundat omnia; ut nos etiam debita huic diei lætitiâ, quam maneam hodie et dimidiatam cogimur exolvere, pleno tum jubilo et adulto gaudio, justoque triumpho exequamur."

are written for the most part in too metaphorical and inflated a style, the bad taste of which should rather be laid to the charge of the age in which he wrote, than of himself. It does not appear from the records of the University that he ever held the public situation either of Hebrew or of Greek Professor. The offices, therefore, spoken of under these titles, must have been lectureships within the walls of his own college, with reference to which situations, the title of professor, which is now confined to public lecturers in the University, was formerly used.

Among other departments of literature which Mr. Sancroft cultivated during this period of his life, in addition to his severer studies, was poetry. We find, among his papers now preserved in the Bodleian, a number of poetical pieces of various descriptions, transcribed with his own hand. In particular, there is a common-place book*, now imperfect, which appears from the index to have consisted of at least 300 pages, written in his small and very close hand-writing, filled with poems in Latin and English, partly serious and sacred, but partly of a lighter character, such as appear to have struck him in the course of his reading, and to have been deemed by him worthy of transcription. Among these, are several poems of Crashaw, mentioned in the index as "transcribed from his own copie before they were printed," of Sir Henry Wotton, Dr. Corbet, and others then in vogue. Mr. T. Warton, in his edition of Milton's poems†, mentions, that, in this manuscript collection by Archbishop Sancroft, made when he was fellow of Emmanuel College, are some poems of our celebrated John Milton; he specifies particularly Milton's Ode on the Nativity, stated by Sancroft to be "selected from the first page of John Milton's poems," and his version of Ps. lili., noted as "done in the fifteenth year of his age." Mr. Warton

* See Tann. MSS. No. 465.

† See MILTON'S *Poems*, edited by T. Warton. London. 1785. Pref. iv. v. It is proper to state that, on referring to this portion of Tanner's MSS. in the Bodleian (No. 465), consisting of papers tied together in a parcel, I do not now find among them any poems of Milton transcribed. But there can be no doubt of the correctness of War-

ton's assertion. Probably these sheets of the collection, after being in his hands, have been accidentally placed in some other parcel. The poems of Milton referred to were first edited in 1645; Mr. Warton says that Sancroft made these transcriptions from them in 1648; I have found no date to the papers.

adds this interesting remark, that "perhaps this is the only instance on record, of these poems having received the slightest mark of notice or attention during the first seventy years after they were published." This remark is most creditable to the taste and judgment of Sancroft, as showing that he had from the first the discernment to perceive the merit of pieces, which the world was very tardy in acknowledging, but which has since been sealed with the full stamp of general approbation.

At this period of his life, Mr. Sancroft, being a young man of superior talents and attainments, as well as most upright principles and conduct, appears to have recommended himself strongly to several friends, who took a warm interest in the advancement of his fortunes. Being born to small, or no inheritance, and consequently depending on his personal exertions in a profession, for his future maintenance, he seems to have held himself open to the acceptance of any situation which might afford a fair prospect of advantage in the employment of his talents. The two following letters, written by him to his father, make mention of offers that were made to him of engaging in the situation of private tutor: it does not appear that he eventually accepted either of the offers, or that he ever availed himself of any similar proposals; but from the terms in which he expresses himself, it may reasonably be inferred that, at this period of his life, he would not have been unwilling to accept an engagement of this description, if any had been offered to him, which was in all respects suitable to his views and wishes. These letters exhibit, in a very pleasing point of view, the deference which he paid to his father's judgment, and show his unwillingness to act in such a matter without consulting him, and receiving the benefit of his advice.

FROM MR. SANCROFT TO HIS FATHER*.

" Cambridge, Sept. 10, 1641.

" Within this fortnight, our master proffered me a place; he would have preferred me to live in an earl's house, where I should have had thirty pounds per annum, my diet in the great chamber,

* The same letter as that before quoted, in which he spoke of his going into holy orders.

and a gelding to ride abroad on, upon occasion. My work should have been only to teach two of his children grammar; for there is a chaplain in the house already. I durst not accept the place, because I knew not your mind, and that was my answer to our master. However, I am infinitely obliged to him: for I had the first offer of it in the college. I pray, sir, when you have occasion to write to Cambridge, express yourself fully what you would have me to do, if the like case be offered again; for, though such things happen but seldom, yet, if it should come to the same point again, I would do nothing without your direction."

FROM MR. SANCROFT TO HIS FATHER*.

(No date, but probably in the year 1645.)

"Sir,

"I wrote to you by Rogers concerning a business of some moment. I doubt not you have received my letter, and I expect every hour an answer. But having heard now something more concerning it, I thought it my duty to impart it. Mr. Weller had before suggested the Doctor's loving and careful thoughts towards me, and given me some dark intimations of the nature of the place, which I now understand more fully by a letter from himself. 'Tis a rich merchant in London, a friend of his, that would send over his son beyond sea; and the Doctor has spoken to him not to dispose of the trust and care of him to any till I have expressed how I mean to dispose of myself. I like the person better than had he been what Mr. Weller mistook him for, noble. For then he would have looked for more respect and attendance, nor should I have had so much influence upon him for his good; briefly, I should then have been a servant, and not a master or at least a companion; there would have been much expected, and perhaps but little done, for generally those great ones prove unruly abroad. Nor do I despair of a less noble salary here, the London merchant's. I was this morning with my Lord of Exeter†, (who is now at Christ's College,) and

* See Tann. MSS. 60. 314. This letter is bound up with others relating to 1645.

† This was Dr. Ralph Brownrigg, bishop of Exeter, who, as will appear in the sequel, bore a particular friend-

acquainted him with it, who encourageth me to go on, and hath enjoined me to wait upon him in the country, and give him an account of my proceedings in it. I shall have his counsel and direction in the whole, and, which is more, his prayers; I have already a promise from him often reiterated, that, if it can be in his power to do me a kindness, he will not forget me. He hath enjoined me, before I go, to give him a copy of a common-place of mine, which he heard of, and of my speech at St. Marie's on the gunpowder treason day, of which he was an auditor. That I may be enabled to obey him in both, I pray, sir, send me up by this bearer (enclosed in a letter) the latter of the two, which you will find in a bundle of my own composures in the fir box in my study. I am now writing to Dr. H., and, though I cannot give him an express answer, because I have not your explicit consent, without which I will do nothing, yet I shall so write as to make stay of the place till I hear fully from you, which I hope to do by Rogers; if not, I beseech you, let it be by Mr. Goodwyn, for delay may totally defeat me of this so happy opportunity. I hope to hear from London this week what the quality of the person is, that would employ me; what he would willingly allow; for I must be enabled to live abroad something plentifully, or else stay at home; whither he would have his son go, for I will not venture into such a hot climate where my health is like to be endangered, much less where my religion will be a crime. When I am informed further, I will either send, or come to you myself, and acquaint you with all. In the mean time, that your leave and blessing may fully go along with me, I could fully propound many motives to induce you, which perhaps I may do in my next; but that it is enough to tell you that those two incomparable noble friends and patrons of mine are my authors and encouragers in it,—who are, I bless God, so tender and loving to me, that they would not entertain any

ship to Mr. Sancroft. He was originally a scholar and fellow of Pembroke Hall, afterwards master of Catherine Hall; made bishop of Exeter in 1642; deprived of his mastership in 1645, and afterwards, with the other prelates, of his bishopric. During the

usurpation, he officiated as preacher of the Temple, where he died in 1659. His life is written by his successor, Dr. Gauden, prefixed to his sermons.—See WALKER's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, and KENNETT's *MS. Collections in the British Museum*, i. 985.

notion that might sort to my prejudice. Sir, for the present, that which I have to beg of you (besides your consent to this proposition) is, that you will be pleased to wrap up all in the greatest secrecy that may be; for to discourse that I intend to travel would be the readiest way to hinder me from it."

But, whatever may have been the temptation held out by offers of this description, he remained constantly resident on his fellowship, engaged in academical business, and in the diligent pursuit of his studies. About the year 1644, we trace him holding the office of college bursar*, and, during the whole of his residence, he appears to have been engaged in the business of tuition within the walls of his college. It will be seen in the sequel, that persons who had the benefit of his instructions, retained ever after the warmest sense of gratitude for his kindness and attention, and a strong feeling of the peculiar advantages they had derived from his counsels and directions.

But the times in which Mr. Sancroft rose into life were times of confusion and alarm, pregnant no less with calamity and mourning to the whole nation, than with severe trial to the feelings of individuals, and detriment to their worldly prospects. More especially, were they times of sore anguish and tribulation to those who, being the authorized ministers of the established church, were called upon by feelings of duty and of conscientious attachment to defend it against assailants; but whose unhappy lot it was to behold its sacred† institutions profaned, its fences rudely broken down, and the axe of desolation applied to its roots.

Mr. Sancroft, in a letter to his father† of April 4, 1642, had thus expressed his feelings on the subject of the troubles then breaking forth.

"Things go very ill above: I know you cannot but hear more than is fitting for me to write; so I cannot but say, in the words of his majesty in one of his messages, there is a judgment from heaven upon this land, if these things continue. In this case, prayers and tears are the best arms we can use, and I pray God we may stay there and take up no other."

* See letters written by him, (Tann. MSS. 61. 66, and 57. 368.) which show that he held in 1644 the office of bur-
 sar, and subsequently that of public tutor in the college.

† Tann. MSS. 63. 3.

In the next year, 1643, the famous Covenant was entered into, between the kingdoms of England and Scotland, in which, while the pretence was held out of a design to defend the king's person and authority, together with the rights and privileges of parliament, and the liberties of the kingdom, the purpose of overturning the frame and constitution of the church by the extirpation of prelacy was openly avowed. This covenant, first ratified in Scotland by commissioners sent from the English parliament, was in the autumn of this year forwarded to London, and immediately taken by the members of both houses of parliament. It was afterwards enforced in the city of London, and in different parts of the country, with greater or less degrees of rigour, according to the local influence possessed by the party which favoured it, and to many accidental circumstances. In the two Universities, great numbers were about this time ejected from their fellowships, and from other offices of trust, both for refusing to bind themselves by this obligation and for various alleged offences. In the University of Cambridge, the Parliamentary leader, the Earl of Manchester, made a visitation in the course of this year, and ejected sixty-five fellows from the different colleges for not returning to their usual place of residence on due summons, and for other misdemeanours*. The individuals alluded to had, no doubt, retired from the university for the purpose of avoiding the imposition of the unwelcome oath.

Among other persons ejected at this time was Dr. Holdsworth, the master of Emmanuel College, who bore particular friendship for Mr. Sancroft, and who, as has already appeared, took considerable interest in promoting his success in life. He happened to be vice-chancellor when the troubles broke out; was seized by the parliament for licensing the king's books, and getting his declarations printed; expelled from his mastership and other preferment, and thrown into prison†.

* See WALKER's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, p. 112.

† After four years' imprisonment he was suffered to be at large. The king afterwards appointed him to the deanery of Worcester, but, from the

continuance of the troubles, he was never installed. He died in the August following the king's death, of disease brought on by grief.—See WALKER's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, part ii, p. 80.

The following letter* was written to him by Mr. Sancroft, soon after the event of his expulsion from the college. It is very characteristic of his style of writing; it describes in glowing terms the state of his feelings at the temper and the practices of the times, and shows his fixed determination never to yield his conscientious principles, by taking the obnoxious oath.

“ Much honoured Sir, and still our worthy Master,

“ I have formerly troubled you with my desires, and they met with acceptance from you. I hope I may now take leave to sigh out my griefs before you, and pour my sorrow into your bosom. You have not thought good, as yet, to give a check to my former impertinencies, and so I dare be confident, your goodness will be a sanctuary for this offence too, which yet, if it must be called so, is no other than an offence of love, or if that be too bold a word, of deepest regard and respect to you. We live in an age in which to speak freely is dangerous, *imò nec gemere tuto licet*; faces are scanned, and looks are construed, and gestures are put upon the rack and made to confess something which may undo the actor; and, though the title be liberty, written in foot and half-foot letters upon the front, yet within there is nothing but perfect slavery, worse than Russian. Woe worth a heart then oppressed with grief in such a conjuncture of time as this. Fears and complaints, you know, are the only kindly and gentle evaporations of burdened spirits, and if we must be bereaved of this sad comfort too, what else is left us but either to whisper our griefs to one another in secret, or else to sit down and sink under the burden of them. I do not *paratragædiare*; nor is my grief so ambitious as to raise *fluctum in scrupulo*. You know, I dare say, what it is that must needs make me cry out, since it touched me in the tenderest part of my soul. We live in times that have, of late, been fatal in abating of heads: proud Tarquin’s riddle is now fully understood; we know too well what it is *summa papaverum capita demere*. But I had not thought they would have beheaded whole colleges at a blow; nay, whole universities and whole churches too; they

* See Tann. MSS. 61. 267. The letter, though it bears no date, is bound up in a volume which refers to the year 1644.

have outdone their pattern in that, and 'tis an experiment in the mastery of cruelty far beyond Caligula's wish. Ah! sir, I know our Emmanuel College is now an object of pity and commiseration; they have left us like John Baptist's trunk when his head was lopped off, because of a vow or oath (or covenant if you will) that went before, or like Pompey's carcass upon the shore; so *stat magni nominis umbra*.—For my part, *tædet me vivere hanc mortem*—a small matter would prevail with me to take up the resolution to go forth any whither where I might not hear *neo nomen neo facta Pelopidarum*. Nor need we voluntarily give up our stations; I fear we cannot long maintain them. And what then? shall I lift up my hand? I will cut it off first. Shall I subscribe my name? I will forget it as soon. I can at least look up through this mist and see the hand of my God holding the scourge that lashes, and with this thought I am able to silence all the mutinies of boisterous passions, and to charm them into a perfect calm. Sir, you will pardon this disjointed piece, it is the production of a disquieted mind, and no wonder if the child resembles its parent; my sorrow, as yet, breaks forth only in abrupt sighs and broken sobs."

By what peculiar fortune Mr. Sancroft escaped at this time the storm which lighted upon so many, cannot now be ascertained. We have seen with what indignation he expressed his resolution not to take the Covenant, and it is certain that he did not take it. The most probable conjecture is, that his talents and excellent qualities recommended him to favourable consideration with the leading persons of the opposite party, and induced them to overlook him.

Soon after this period, in the prosecution of the work of destroying the Church, the use of its Liturgy was prohibited*, and the Directory substituted in its place. Here was a further

* The Assembly of Divines presented the Directory to the Commons towards the end of the year 1644; and in the beginning of 1645 it was adopted by them, and an ordinance passed for its general use. In the following August, on a petition from the As-

sembly of Divines, a fresh ordinance was made for enforcing it, and an order given that all Common Prayer Books should be brought in to the Committees.—See KENNETT'S *History of England*.

difficulty thrown in the way of conscientious ministers of the Church, who were required by their oaths to conform to the Liturgy, and who could not allow the validity of that authority which now pretended to abrogate the use of it. Mr. Sancroft, being a fellow resident in his college, and having no duty to perform beyond its walls, was not called upon to betray his non-compliance with the parliamentary ordinance, in the same public manner as those of the clergy who officiated in the churches. But still, in a question of this nature and importance, it was impossible that he should not make up his mind as to the part which it became him to take. Indeed, it appears that the statutes of his college called upon him occasionally to officiate in the chapel; and we can well understand, that the same feeling which would make him unwilling, as a minister of the Church, to discontinue the Liturgy, would prevent his attendance at the service when it was discontinued.

The following excellent letter on this subject was written by him to an intimate friend, who evidently seems to have betrayed more suppleness in yielding to the temper of the times than suited Mr. Sancroft's feelings. It may be collected from the terms of the letter, that Mr. Sancroft having requested his friend's opinion respecting the line of conduct to be pursued, that friend had suggested many prudential reasons for compliance with the injunctions of the prevailing authorities, and had endeavoured to calm the warmth of Mr. Sancroft's feelings on the distracted state of the times. In this answer Mr. Sancroft, in a very forcible and spirited style, combats the arguments which had been suggested to him, and shows his own firm resolution to maintain his conscientious principles. He rallies his friend on his tendency to change, in a manner which exhibits, in a favourable point of view, his talent for dry, but good-humoured irony.

WILLIAM SANCROFT TO MR. RICHARD WELLER *.

Dated Emmanuel College, May 26, 1645.

“To begin with your first caution; assure yourself, sweet sir, the epidemical distempers of the age do not (too much)

* Tann. MSS. 60. 148.

possess my mind, nor do I lay them to heart, so as to endanger my constitution, weak though it be. But yet I must acknowledge I do not, I cannot, look upon this bleeding kingdom, this dying church, with the same indifference as I would read the history of Japan, or hear the affairs of China related. I cannot consider a scattered and broken university with as reposed a spirit, as I would behold a tragedy presented on a stage, or view some sad picture in a gallery. I thank my God, who hath given me so tranquil and calm a spirit, as I do neither fret impatiently, nor cowardly despair. But yet I know full well that 'twere a grand mistake to practise a dull inapprehensiveness, instead of a generous patience. A stoical stupidity is far enough removed from an heroic constancy; and that sour sect, who sought to bereave us of the one half of ourselves, and to free us, shall I say, or rob us, of our passions or affections, are so far from making a wise man or a Christian, that they have only raised a statue. To say no more, sir, your spur was here more needful than your bridle; and, perhaps, a friendly jog to awaken me to a greater degree of solicitude had been more seasonable, than your dose of opium to charm my sorrows and lullaby my cares, which I fear will rather be found on this side the due proportion than beyond it. I am all thankfulness for your loving care and pains in answering my query; and do but still vouchsafe to continue this your affectionate readiness, and your counsel shall always be my better directory. You are pleased to slice my doubt into a double scruple. Whether I may lay aside the one, whether I may take up the other? For the first, your maxim is, that no law obligeth to a positive obedience where the legislative power doth not protect. I think you and I shall hardly be two in this particular. Nor do I count myself obliged to go to chapel and read common prayer till my brains be dashed out. But yet, if laws are binding no longer than till inconveniences accrue to the observer, I am at this present time free from the tie of all the laws of England, and may do whatever is good in mine own eyes: because they, in whom the legislative power is seated, being split into two opposite factions, there is no security left; for whom one side protects, the other threatens. And if the endangering of estate or liberty to be taken away by violence of a

prevailing party be sufficient to absolve us from our obedience, what are your thoughts of those, whose memories are now so precious, who stood up resolutely against ship-money and illegal taxes, and, for not paying perhaps 20*l.*, endangered their whole inheritance; or, to look into that other sphere of the Church, of those who, in the days of innovation and illegal encroachments, kept close to canon and rubric, maugre all the suspensions and deprivations in the diocese?

“But for the second, your conclusion is, that I may cheerfully, nay that I am tied, to conform to the new model. And why I pray? 1. Because I am bound to do my *ultimum quod sit* for the glory of God. 2. Because I am bound, by my place, to read the Scriptures and pray. First for your conclusion, then for your arguments. And truly that cheerfulness in complying which you seem to require of me is much abated by these considerations, which, to my weakness, appear to carry some weight in them: 1. Because to comply would be a tacit consent to that extravagant power which the two Houses now first challenge (having before disclaimed it,) of repealing acts of parliament by ordinance, which opens a wide gap to all manner of arbitrariness: for, if they may in some cases annul laws, and they themselves be the judges of those cases, we are not sure that one law shall stand. And yet that protestation which both you and I took, binds us, with our power and estate, nay, with our lives, to maintain and defend the lawful rights and liberties of the subject; the chiefest part of whose birthright it is, as I apprehend it, to be free from illegal impositions. But 2dly, to comply, would be to throw a foul aspersion on the whole church of God in England, since the Reformation; as if the public worship of God here used, which, for aught I know, was the most complete piece which any church upon earth had, were unlawful and anti-christian, or, at least, in the highest degree inconvenient. For such language the Preface to your Directory speaks, and thereupon infers an absolute necessity of removing it. Now thus to cast up dirt in my mother's face, and kick out her Liturgy as an abominable thing, which hath so long been made good against all the noise and clamour of weak opposites, is an exploit, I confess, which I cannot look upon with any such complacence, as to

undertake it with an extraordinary measure of cheerfulness or alacrity. And, 3dly, to comply, would be to set to my seal that the Houses have power to reform religion without the supreme magistrate; that their journeymen of the synod are lawfully convened: the truth of which, I confess, I cannot so clearly see, no not with the help of a synodical pair of spectacles. And, while my apprehensions are thus planted, be you judge how much it would be for the glory of God, for me thus to run counter to the dictates of my conscience, which is God's voice in my soul, and to me as binding. I am bound, 'tis true, by the statute, shall I say, or rather the custom of the college, to read prayers in my course; but I am bound by a higher law of the kingdom, and under greater penalties, to use no form of public worship but that established. If I be wanting to my duty in this, I am confident they will answer it who lay the restraint upon me. You mightily applaud that piece of freedom, that I must make my prayer myself, but yet, you know, they bind me in their materials: and shall I pray for your synod and armies, or give thanks for your Covenant? Truly, sir, I am not yet satisfied, and therefore long impatiently to see you, for I hope your charitable desire of informing me still continues. What remains, I will reserve till then, because I cannot but reflect upon my rudeness already committed in this talkative paper.

“ At the close, you interpose a word or two concerning your mutability. Good sir, do not phrase it so. When I wrote that passage which you aim at, I intended only to convict fame of a lie; to let you know there is more brass in her forehead than in her trumpet; and to applaud the poetical fiction in the choice of her sex, because I find her such a babbler and busy-body. I know that Mr. Weller's principles are so well and so deeply grounded, so strongly fortified, that all the logic at Westminster cannot alter them; and that it should be done before, I see no likelihood. *Cœlum non animum mutant*. Sir, I look upon an opinion once entertained by you, as Hull or Gloucester, or if there be a more impregnable castle. I know you can stand out against all opposition; you know well how to ward the blows both of the right hand and the left. You slight the proffers of advantage that would woo you to give up, as much as you scorn

the danger. and sit above all apprehensions of it. I know you'll dispute every inch before you quit it; being underneath *τετραγωνος*, like a die, however you be thrown down, you cannot lose your squareness, for you still fall upon a sure basis. So that, should any one tell me he saw you take the Covenant, I should be bold, if civility gave me leave, to give him the lie. Nay, should I myself see you lift up your hand and subscribe your name, I would strait turn sceptic, and conclude my eyes deceived me. However, in despite of all mutabilities, I shall ever be, most unchangeably,

“ Your faithful friend and servant,

“ W. S.”

Mr. Sancroft appears to have continued, principally, if not entirely, resident on his fellowship, employed in the business of tuition, till the purposes of rebellion were consummated, in the total overthrow of the kingly government, and the murder of the king. The two letters which follow, addressed to his father from Cambridge, were written, the one in the near prospect of that event, the other immediately after it had taken place. It is pleasing to observe him ever calming and subduing his acute feelings of sorrow for the prevalence of public crime and distraction, by recollecting the supreme duty of bowing with humility and resignation to the dispensations of a righteous Providence.

FROM WILLIAM SANCROFT TO HIS FATHER*.

“ January 11, 1648.

“ Things grow worse and worse every day; and there is nothing left for the king and his party, in this world, but the glory of suffering well, and in a good cause, which I hope nor devils nor men will be able to deprive them of. For my part, if once I see the fatal blow struck, I shall think of nothing but trussing up all and packing away, and nothing but your command shall stay me long in a nation which, I am persuaded, will sink to the centre, if it suffers so horrid a wickedness without chastisement. In the mean time, we must observe and adore the mysteries and wonders of Providence in all these

* Tann. MSS. 57. 473.

traverses. You see the army could never ruin the king till they nulled the Lords and enslaved the Commons, and so ruined the parliament that lent the first hand to the setting of them up and pulling down the king. And what shall we say if William Prynne*, who was the first incendiary, and sowed the first seeds of sedition, suffer at last in the king's quarrel? You will see by the papers I send you, he is engaged: and you neither know him and his pertinacy, if you think he will retreat, nor his adversaries and their fury, if you think they will spare."

FROM WILLIAM SANCROFT TO HIS FATHER†.

"February 10, 1648.

"What all men sadly presaged, when I wrote my last, all good men now inconsolably lament. The black act is done, which all the world wonders at, and which an age cannot expiate. The waters of the ocean we swim in cannot wash out the spots of that blood, than which never any was shed with greater guilt since the Son of God poured out his. And now we have nothing left, but to importune the God to whom vengeance belongs, that He would show forth himself, and speedily account with these prodigious monsters, or else hasten His coming to judgment, and so put an end to these enormous crimes, which no words yet in use can reach, or thought conceive without horror and amazement. I send you no papers, nor can I delight to look in any, since I read the saddest that ever England saw; those I mean that related the martyrdom of the best Protestant in these kingdoms, and incomparably the best king upon earth, Charles the pious and the glorious, with whom fell the church and the kingdom, religion and learning, and the rewards of both, and all which the piety and honesty of the nation could hope for, in this world.

* The celebrated William Prynne was at this time one of the members excluded from the House of Commons. He published Jan. 1, 1648, *A brief Memento to the present unparliamentary Junto, touching their intentions and proceedings to depose and execute Charles Stewart, their lawful king of England*. He was in consequence committed to

custody by the Commons, for denying their authority. He was again committed to prison under Cromwell; was afterwards a zealous promoter of the Restoration; and died in 1669.—See NEALE'S *Hist. of Puritans*, v. iii. 532, and WHITELOCK'S *Memorials*, p. 352.

† Tann. MSS. 57. 499.

And, now, the breath of our nostrils being taken away, we only draw in so much as we render again in sighs, and wish apace for the time when God shall call for it all. When we meet, it is but to consult to what foreign plantation we shall fly, where we may enjoy any liberty of our conscience, or lay down a weary head with the least repose, for the church here will never rise again, though the kingdom should. The universities we give up for lost; and the story you have in the country of Cromwell's coming amongst us will not be long a fable; and now 'tis grown treason (which in St. Paul's time was duty,) to pray for kings and all that are in authority; the doors of the church we frequented will be shut up, and conscientious men will refuse to preach, where they cannot, without danger of a pistol, do what is more necessary, pray according to their duty. For my part, I have given over all thoughts of that exercise in public, till I may with safety, pour out my vows for Charles II., the heir, I hope, of his father's virtues as well as kingdoms. In the mean time, there are caves and dens of the earth, and upper rooms and secret chambers, for a church in persecution to flee to, and there shall be our refuge. I long exceedingly, sir, to wait upon you, that I may safely communicate my thoughts to you, nor shall I adventure any more of this nature till I see you. In the mean time, with my humble duty to yourself, and my good mother, with my hearty love to all my brothers, sisters, and friends, beseeching God to comfort you in all your public and private sorrows, I humbly take leave, and subscribe myself, sir,

“ Your obedient son,

“ W. S.”

Such were the expressions of passionate sorrow in which he poured forth his feelings on this mournful occasion. It appears that he seriously intended no longer to remain a witness of this disastrous state of things at home, and immediately to quit the country; but he was soon roused by a domestic sorrow from the exclusive consideration of the public calamities. His father, towards whom he was animated by the warmest affection, and to whose counsels he constantly turned for the guidance of his conduct, died a very few days after the date of the last letter.

He thus announces the event, and expresses his feelings respecting it, to Mr. Holdsworth, one of the fellows of the same college with himself*.

“ February 20, 1648.

“ Dear Mr. Holdsworth,

“ What I feared is come to pass. It hath pleased God to take away from us my dear father, the sole prop of this now ruined family. His tender sense and apprehension of the public calamities, together with the burthen of 68 years, and a violent fever, with which it pleased God to visit him, have ended the life in which all ours were bound up. On Sunday night, about ten of the clock, he went hence; yesternight, at eight, I made hard shift to get hither, where I found a sad family, and mingled up my tears with theirs. Good friend, let me have thy prayers to assist me in this saddest loss that ever I sustained for this world. When I see thee, I shall give thee the particular aggravations of my sorrow. I shall haste out of this sad place, as soon as the duty I owe to the comfort of the widow and orphans, and some care I must share in gathering up the broken pieces of this shattered family, shall be over; haply, both may yet exact a fortnight. In the mean time, I prithee, redouble thy care for my pupils, especially for the sick.—I pray be vigilant at Mr. Ireland's to watch when the king's devotions† come down; he hath promised me six; I pray pay for them and preserve them for me.”

* See Tann. MSS. 57. 506.

† By “the King's Devotions,” he alludes to the book published very shortly after the martyrdom of the king, under the title of *Εικων Βασιλικη*, purporting to contain his devotions during the last periods of his sufferings, committed to paper with his own hand. Doubts exist respecting the authenticity of the work; but it was bought up at the time with incredible avidity from the enthusiastic and devoted attachment to his memory which prevailed, quickened by the recent sense of the indignities he had suffered, and

by compassion for his fate, so disproportioned to the worst crimes that his enemies had charged upon him. It is said, that no less than fifty editions of it were sold off (in different languages) within twelve months after the king's death.—Writing to another friend, Mr. Sancroft thus expresses his great eagerness to procure without delay a copy of the work: “If any of the king's books (*Εικων Βασιλικη*, I mean) be to be procured, or already in your hands, send me one by this messenger.”—(Tann. MSS. 57. 512.) In answer to his inquiry, Mr. Holdsworth says,

The hurry and fatigue of body and mind which were occasioned by this mournful family event, injured Mr. Sancroft's health, which appears never to have been robust.—Writing to a friend he says,—“ Either with my journey hither, or with following my father's hearse, and sitting long in the church, I have gotten such a cold and cough as is for the present very troublesome, and may without God's mercy prove dangerous. May He fit us for all the events and issues of his providence.”

He probably returned to Cambridge, at as early a period as circumstances admitted, after paying the last duties to his father. But he was not long destined to remain in the possession of his situation there. A still more odious oath than the Covenant was soon framed by the prevailing party; to escape the imposition of this, he appears to have retired for some time from the University, and, at last, from his firm determination not to take it, suffered ejection from his fellowship. The oath alluded to, was known by the name of the Engagement, by which all persons were required to bind themselves to be true and faithful to the government then established, without king or house of peers: and those who refused were declared incapable of holding any office in church or state. This oath was pressed with as much diligence and activity as circumstances admitted; but, from the want of power rather than of zeal in those who promoted it, it was not immediately enforced in all parts of the kingdom.

In the November of this year, the following letter* from Cambridge was addressed to him, then absent from the University, by his friend Henry Paman. This person was one of those, in the care of whose academical education Mr. Sancroft had been concerned, and a close intimacy appears to have subsisted

‘The king's books are so excessive dear, that I believe you would not have so many of them at their prices; they will be above 5s.; they are sold for 6s. 6d. in London.’—Tann. MSS. 57. 513.)

Much controversy, it is well known, has existed, both soon after the publication and in later times, respecting the authenticity of the *Εικὼν Βασιλική*. The most probable opinion is, that it

was written chiefly by Dr. Gauden, perhaps with the use of some of the king's papers. The controversy has been revived lately, after it had gone to sleep for much more than a century, by the Rev. H. J. Todd and Rev. Dr. Wordsworth. The work was answered in 1652, by the celebrated John Milton, in a work called *Εικονοκλαστής*.

* See Baker's MSS. at Cambridge, 34. 123.

between them through life. On the promotion of his former tutor to the See of Canterbury, this person, then Dr. Paman, came to reside with him at Lambeth Palace, as a friend and companion. In 1679, he was chosen Professor of Physic at Gresham College. He was afterwards appointed Master of the Faculties to the Archbishop, an office which he resigned on the Archbishop's quitting Lambeth Palace. His life closed about two years after the death of the Archbishop*.

"St. John's, Nov. 23rd, 1649.

"Honoured Tutor,

"I am ashamed that all the while I was under your tuition, I learned not that which I find would have been chiefly useful to me, thankfulness for all your favours. I know not how to report the condition of things here; only I think they are as you left them. The subscription is every day expected. I dare not say what I will do, nor ask the counsel of my best friends, what I ought to do. For I confess I have slighted my own and their counsel. I had a counsellor within, that showed me the error of the way I was going. I thought I might have trusted my resolution and constancy so far that nothing from without should have moved it. People here, I think, are not willing to acquaint themselves what they mean to do, before that minute when they shall have no more time to consider. There goes a report here, that the subscription was offered to Dr. Horton, who

* Henry Paman was admitted at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, in June, 1643, under the tutorship of Mr. Sancroft. In 1646, he removed to St. John's College, thence took his degrees, and was elected a Fellow. In 1658, he was created doctor of physic. Between this period and 1666, he appears to have resided chiefly in different parts of the Continent. In October, 1659, we find him at Utrecht. (Harl. MSS. 3784. 192.) On May 9, 1666, he thus writes to Mr. Sancroft from St. John's College: "After a sufficient time of wandering, I am once again set down quietly at my cell, where, after my thanks to heaven,

nothing could sooner possess me, than the sense of my obligations to you."—(Harl. MSS. 3784. 197.) In 1674, he was elected public orator at Cambridge. He is described to have been a man of fine parts and a great master of polite literature. His letters show him to have possessed much of the same talent which the Archbishop possessed, of observing upon passing events, and the characters of men, with peculiar point and shrewdness. See *WARD's Lives of the Gresham Professors*. There is a series of his letters to Sancroft preserved in the Harleian MSS. at the British Museum. See 3784. 179—197.

promised readily that he would be true and faithful to them ; which he could not be any more than by telling them of their bloodshed and perjury, which he resolved to do to his utmost, the next time he had occasion to speak to any of them from the pulpit. I think this story is not like to be true.

“ I am, sir, your very real servant,

“ HENRY PAMAN.”

The Engagement not having been enforced during the year 1649 with sufficient strictness to satisfy the party which enacted it, a fresh ordinance for pressing it was made January 2, 1649-50 ; and, with regard to the Universities, it was, in the following June, referred to a Committee for regulating them, to examine what masters and fellows, in each of them, neglected or refused to take the oath ; at the same time, power was given to remove all refusers and to place others in their room.

Two letters to Mr. Sancroft, written in March of this year from his friends at Cambridge, attest the warm interest they took in his affairs, and their anxiety on his account.

FROM JOHN DAVENPORT* TO WILLIAM SANCROFT.

“ *Emmanuel, March 6th, 1650.*

“ Sir,

“ The reason why I have not writ before this, was partly because you have been duly expected ; partly lest, instead of doing a friendly office, I might do you a discourtesy by timely informing you of a summons which demands the appearance of all non-engagers ; for then I thought you would not so well pretend ignorance, which perhaps might do you some good. The carrier tells me that you are not well ; I heartily wish your recovery,

* There were two persons of this name, members of Emmanuel College, and intimate friends of Mr. Sancroft, John and George Davenport. A great number of private letters from each, addressed to Mr. Sancroft, are preserved in the Harleian Collection in the British Museum, chiefly relating to common-place matters.—(See Har-

leian MSS. 3783. 111. 171.) From a subsequent letter of Mr. Sancroft (p. 36,) it appears that he complains of one of the Mr. Davenports as having deceived them and consented to take the Engagement, after first stoutly denying. John Davenport was elected a Fellow of Emmanuel College in 1649.

and in the mean time have acquainted Dr. Tuckney* and the fellows with the same, who have inserted it in a letter written to Mr. Adoniram Bifeld in your behalf, where they give you most ample recommendations, and express how greatly they desire, if possible, that you may be continued. One Mr. Bramford, late of our college, is to succeed in case you be turned out. *Speramus meliora*. They say Mr. Bifeld bestirs himself very much in your behalf. Nothing as yet is concluded. What this day, which is Thursday, may bring forth, you shall know, God willing, by the next, if we see you not, which I much desire, before that time. It is your course to preach at St. Mary's the next Sunday after this; but, as the case stands, you need not trouble yourself nor any of your friends in that business; for you will not be expected. I have been almost dead of a cold since your departure, but now, thanks be to God, well recovered, and therefore the better able to serve you in whatever you shall demand.

"Your real, constant, and faithful friend and servant,

"JOHN DAVENPORT."

FROM H. PAMAN TO WILLIAM SANCROFT†.

"Dated St. John's, March 23rd, 1650.

"The news from London says your business is heated, and you are given to us now upon a surer foundation than we could possibly hope to enjoy you; for, when your fellowship was asked, the petitioners were answered, that they might as well think to remove a mountain as Mr. Sancroft. I am sorry for nothing in this turn of the scale, but that this news will not be welcome to you as to us here. But pray, sir, be not unwilling to come among us again, though we be not worthy of you. It is given out by many, that you have subscribed, that it might the

* Dr. Tuckney was the Master of Emmanuel College appointed by the Parliamentary Commissioners, when they ejected Dr. Holdsworth, in 1645. In 1653, he was transferred to the Mastership of St. John's, and was afterwards made Regius Professor of Divinity. After the Restoration, he was obliged to quit his preferments,

but an annuity of 100*l.* per annum was assigned to him from the professorship. He was a commissioner at the Savoy conference on the non-conformist side. He died in 1669.—See an account of him by Dr. Salter in the Preface to *WHICHCOTE'S Aphorisms*.

† Tann. MSS. 57. 233.

more powerfully prevent all malicious requests to take you from us.—I hope to hear nothing by the carrier but that you will be here before his return : there was much sorrow for your sickness at Bansfield.”

In the course of this year, Mr. Sancroft returned to his residence in his college, to await the event of things, and was still preserved in his fellowship, contrary to his own expectations, and in a manner which excited his surprise. Towards the close of the year, we find him writing to his brother, and giving the following account of the aspect of his affairs.

FROM WM. SANCROFT TO HIS BROTHER*.

“ *November 17th, 1650.*

“ ’Tis too long that I have intermitted this commerce of love and affection, and more than time that I resume it. The last time I wrote not, for I thought you must needs be weary of reading so often, what I was tired with writing, that I was not ejected, but looked not to stay long. Yet now I must return to the old repetition, and say the same thing once more. I was, as I told you, once returned as a refuser by the committee here; yet some that have sought for my name at the committee above; cannot find it: others that have inquired, write word that I am not turned out yet, though many have been, since you received my last. Dr. Love is suspended, but not yet out: and some say there is a way found out, that he shall be thought to have given satisfaction, and so that he will be continued. But, unless he subscribe downright, I hardly think he can escape, for many gape for his places.

“ On Thursday last, the committee above appointed three new masters for the void places; Mr. Lightfoot* of Catherine Hall, Mr. Simson, (the great Independent,) for Pembroke Hall,

* See Tann. MSS. 56. 215.

† This was the celebrated Dr. John Lightfoot, the learned Commentator on Scripture, who yielded to the prevailing temper of the times, and took the oaths required by the republican

party. At the Restoration he offered to resign his preferments, but obtained a confirmation of them from the crown, probably from respect to his great learning.

and Mr. Worthington, of our college, for Jesus College. Mr. Cudworth*, too, is leaving us, having lately been presented, and now possessed of, a college living, North Cadbury, in Somersetshire, voided by Dr. Whichcote's resignation, who is vice-chancellor this year. Mr. Davenport of our college hath again deceived us, and having stoutly denied to engage before the committee at London, when he was summoned, he hath since bethought him and done it here, and is now by a vote at London, restored to his fellowship, out of which he was voted upon his former refusal. Mr. Adams, I think, stands firm: and yet we despair not of keeping our places, till somebody goes to complain of us, and beg them; which will certainly be done, when the new swarm of bachelors that are to commence at Christmas shall be complete and ready for preferment. Our friends at Trinity are out, and others in their places. The committee sat last week here, and summoned some of St. John's College to appear at London; but I heard nothing of them. Some would persuade me, and I am sometimes prone to believe it, that I have some secret friend who doth me good offices though I know it not. However, brother, 'tis a comfort to me, that I am sure of a friend in you; and, if the worst happen here, which I still expect, I may have a retreat with you, which still you so lovingly proffer. I thank you for your readiness to entertain my pupil with myself; but I shall not make use of your kindness, in that particular, if I may avoid it, for if I go hence, I desire privacy above all. Only I desired to know your mind, in case I should be importuned so, as I could not civilly deny."

The new creation of bachelors, alluded to in this letter, took place, and still he was not disturbed. In the following April, he again wrote† to his brother in the full expectation that a very few days must finally terminate his possession of his academical situation.

"April 22d, 1651*.

"I received, this day se'ennight, an order of which I send you a copy, by which you will perceive that Thursday-come-fortnight

* The celebrated Ralph Cudworth, author of the *Intellectual System*.

† See Tann. MSS. 54. 30.

‡ Ibid.

is like to put an end to my hopes; yet haply not to my fears, since some of my friends would persuade me that I may outlive that date: I thank God I am not much solicitous in that behalf, having long since set up my rest: and so much the less, having this day received an overture of a subsistence full up to that of my fellowship, in which the employment required shall leave me, too, as much at liberty as I am at present."

Still his friends were not without hopes that he might escape the danger. Dr. Brownrigg, the ejected bishop of Exeter, who interested himself much in his favour, and who appears to have possessed credit and influence even with the party that now prevailed, says, in a letter* to him, written in the following month—"I am desirous to hear how you are dealt withal, for your continuance in Cambridge. I think your critical month is out, so that my hope is, you are forborne or forgotten by them that did pursue you."

In the same month, Mr. Sancroft wrote in the following terms to Bishop Brownrigg. It is a singular proof of the respect and esteem which attached to his character, to find, at a time of such political heats, those who owed their situations to the opposite party interesting themselves in the behalf of one who, they well knew, strongly condemned their principles and conduct.

"May 24th, 1651.

"The *dies decretorius* passed according to my desire in silence; for had I been mentioned, I think nothing could have excused me from a sentence so peremptorily threatened. Your lordship's letter (for which with the rest of your favours I return my humblest thanks) was carefully delivered, and produced this effect in Mr. Oldsworth, that he professed his very high esteem of your lordship, and how much he thought himself obliged to do his utmost in pursuance of your lordship's commands. Hereupon he was going to the committee upon the day appointed with a resolution to move in my behalf; but was by the way desired by Dr. Tuckney (who knew of your lordship's recom-

* See Tann. MSS. 54. 69.

mendation of my case to him) not to stir in it, unless I were first mentioned by some other, for it was my interest to be forgotten. He complied with this suggestion; and so, through God's mercy, I am still continued in my opportunities here, till either some young petitioner from hence, or their own reminiscence, shall revive my name at the committee; and then *actum est, ilicet*. In the mean time, my station here can be on no account more valuable to me, than if it may render me capable of receiving your lordship's commands at a nigher distance, and of doing you some little of that service, of which I owe so much. Mr. Gayer, (God be praised) is well, and doth so. For university news, you will find more than my paper could tell you in the pamphlet I send; in which you will read Peter's chair shaken with the same arguments that levelled the throne (as if soldiers go a birding with their muskets, and shoot at butts with their field-pieces)."

But his good fortune in escaping the inquisition of his opponents did not continue much longer. Although it appears, from a letter of inquiry addressed to him by a friend on the 27th June, 1651, that at this period he was not ejected, but only in immediate peril of it—the following extract, dated August 13th*, proves that his expulsion had then taken place.—“Our persecutors are not only ignorant, but malicious, as I perceive by your history, which I no sooner read, but I was forced to sigh out a long and sad farewell to Cambridge, the remembrance of which only your presence sweetened to me: how unhappy I am who shall be further separated from you, and have no probable hopes of this sweet and friendly intercourse, which I account my greatest happiness.”

Thus it may be conjectured that he was expelled from his fellowship in some part of the month of July in this year†, 1651.

It is highly interesting to observe the firm and resolute line

* See Tann. MSS. 54. 148.

† The number of masters and fellows, at Cambridge, ejected during the time of the troubles was above two hundred; of these Walker says, that the larger

part were turned out at the end of 1643, and the beginning of 1644, that is, principally for not taking the Covenant. It is observable that, as the Presbyterians had dispossessed the

of conduct which Mr. Sancroft maintained during this season of trial to all loyal subjects and all faithful sons of the church. It happened then, as it happens in all revolutionary times, that various hypotheses were started, to make men's consciences easy under compliance, to induce them to truckle without scruple to the authorities which prevailed, and to measure their notions of what was just and right, by their feeling of what was most conducive to their present interests. The specious arguments which were invented on this side of the question, wrought upon many highly estimable persons, both amongst the clergy and the laity, who probably sincerely reconciled to their consciences, compliance with all the oaths and engagements imposed by the government of the day. But Mr. Sancroft's conscience was formed of a firmer texture, and from less yielding materials. Bred up in loyal attachment to his sovereign, and ordained a minister of God's church on earth, he had sealed his ties to the service of both, in the sight of heaven, by the most solemn of all engagements; and, having done so, he could not be induced by any earthly consideration to bind himself in allegiance to those by whom the monarchy had been torn up from its foundations, and the holy church laid prostrate in the dust.

His firm and inflexible behaviour at this earlier period of his life, finely illustrates the motives from which he afterwards acted at the time of the Revolution. It shows that the scrupulous regard to the obligation of an oath which he at that later period maintained, as was thought by many, with unnecessary and excessive rigour, sprang from no feeling hastily or suddenly contracted, but from a principle which was deeply rooted in his heart, which formed an original and integral part of his character, and by which, under all the varying circumstances of his life, he steadily directed his course.

Royalists by means of the Covenant, so the Independents now dispossessed the Presbyterians by enforcing the Engagement,—so that several of those who were put in by the Earl of Manchester in 1643, were dispossessed in 1650. See WALKER'S *Sufferings of the Clergy*.

CHAPTER II.

FROM HIS EXPULSION FROM HIS FELLOWSHIP TO THE
RESTORATION.

Publication of the *Fur Prædestinatus* and *Modern Policies*, &c.—Letters to and from his Friends—Residence in Holland—Travels to the South of Europe—Return to England at the Restoration.

IN the gloomy state of things which now prevailed, when principles were publicly maintained which tended to the destruction of social order, and to the confusion of all moral distinctions; when persons professing these principles had, by a course of nefarious policy, possessed themselves of the highest authority in the state, to the exclusion of the honest and upright part of the nation; when impiety and fanaticism had made a most unhalloed alliance; when the semblance of superior sanctity was assumed to veil the purposes of enormous wickedness, and religious motives pretended to justify the most atrocious crime; it was indeed necessary that the wise and the good should strenuously exert the best means they could command, of stemming the headstrong tide of error and delusion, and of restoring the nation to its proper tone of thinking and of acting. To men like Mr. Sancroft it was, to men of sound principles and cultivated talents, who were not to be duped by the shallow arts of a crooked policy, nor seduced from the straight path of duty and of right, by wild and ill-digested schemes of innovation, nor induced, by any views of present worldly interest, meanly to support an usurpation raised on the overthrow of just and lawful authority; to such men it was, that the nation naturally turned for assistance in tearing off the mask from successful hypocrisy, and checking the growth of error and of crime, so as to fulfil its anxious hopes of better days. But driven, as such men were, from all situations of trust and power, and forced to screen themselves in retirement from the observation of prevailing tyranny, their means of exertion for the public good were unavoidably

limited. One powerful instrument, however, for guiding public opinion, the press, was not to be silenced; and Mr. Sancroft stood up among the foremost to exert his superior talents in employing it for the cause of social order and sound religion. He published nothing with his name affixed; but it was strongly suspected that he was largely concerned in producing more works than one, which appeared about that time, and which were admirably calculated to expose the dangerous errors and hollow sophistries, both in religion and in politics, which had unhappily gained possession of the public mind.

One work, which was so universally attributed to him, as scarcely to admit of any doubt, was written in Latin, under the title of *Fur Prædestinatus*; being intended to expose the doctrines of rigid Calvinism, the extensive prevalence of which had advanced very far in destroying all just and sound views of religion.

The exposure of the Calvinistic doctrines, made in the *Fur Prædestinatus*, was peculiarly seasonable at that time, when both the Puritans and Independents, however they differed from each other on points of church discipline and government, yet concurred in maintaining these doctrines in their utmost rigour, and pushed them to the extreme of Antinomianism; thereby obstructing the natural influence of Christianity on the human heart, and giving a free rein to perverse and headstrong passions. A dialogue is feigned between a thief condemned to immediate execution, and a Calvinistic preacher who came to move him to repentance for his crimes. The thief, although by his own acknowledgment he had lived in the commission of the worst enormities, is full of self-satisfaction; maintains that he could not possibly have acted any other part than he has done; since, as he contends, all men, being either elect or reprobate, are predestined to happiness or misery; that the best actions, as they are reputed, partake of so much wickedness as to differ in no essential degree from the worst; that sinners fulfil the will of God as much as those who most comply with his outward commands; and that God, as working irresistibly in all men, is the cause of the worst sins which they commit. He says that he had always reflected respecting himself in this manner, that either he must

be elect or reprobate; if the former, the Holy Spirit would operate so irresistibly as certainly to effect his conversion; if the latter, all his care and diligence for effecting his salvation would rather do harm than good. But now, he adds, he felt satisfied he was one of the elect, who, though they might fall into grievous sins, could not fail of salvation.

The dialogue is managed with great address and ability; and, what must have given it its greatest effect, the statements of the Calvinistic doctrines are made in the actual words of the principal writers of that persuasion, of whom not fewer than forty are quoted, and specially referred to, in the course of this short work. It may perhaps be deemed, on the whole, the most successful exposure, which has ever appeared, of the tendency of the Calvinistic doctrines when maintained in their unqualified strictness; as showing that, instead of nurturing and encouraging those feelings of humility, piety, and goodness, which are the genuine fruits of Christianity, they give birth to spiritual pride and self-satisfaction; allow a free rein to licentious passions; bring the sinner to a hardened and impenitent state; and thus pervert the whole effect which this holy religion ought to have upon the human heart.

By some it may be thought that this dialogue exhibits rather a caricature than a faithful representation of the Calvinistic system of doctrines; that it describes their tendency in terms of too great exaggeration, to be admitted for a true description; and that those who maintain them are thus charged with consequences which they themselves neither tolerate nor sanction. It should be remembered, however, that the question is not, what consequences the Calvinistic teachers themselves have deduced from their doctrines: but what consequences are legitimately deduced from them, and flow from them by a natural tendency. If it be proved that the consequences here described are such as must naturally be derived from them, when consistently maintained; then it will too probably follow, that every mind, which imbibes the doctrines, will be, in some degree or other, tainted with the evil; and we arrive at a certain conclusion that these cannot be the genuine doctrines of a religion destined to purify and meliorate the heart of man.

It should also be remembered that, at the time when this tract was written, the effects of these doctrines were exhibited to the eye of every observer in the most frightful forms. Under the assumed sanction of a perverted religion, the worst crimes had been perpetrated; all the sacred institutions of the country had been torn up by the roots; hypocrisy and enthusiasm had, with a portion of the nation, whom the success of their machinations had raised on an eminence so as to be seen from far, usurped the place of genuine Christian feelings; and they who signalized themselves by the commission of the boldest enormities, had made their unhallowed boast that they were doing the work of the Lord. At such a time, the disease was so violent in its symptoms, and so fatal in its effects, as to admit of no sparing hand in the application of the remedy. This was no season for disguising the truth, or flattering with soft and smooth speech. But it became an imperative duty to pourtray, in broad and deep lines, the harsh and rugged features of a system from which these evils had, in great measure, flowed, in order that men might be led to a just feeling and judgment of the truth.

This little tract obtained a rapid circulation, and passed through several editions. It appeared first in 1651, and was published in an English dress in 1658. An answer to it of considerable bulk appeared in 1657, written in Latin by George Kendal, S.T.D., and printed at Oxford under the title of *Fur pro Tribunali*, "the thief brought to judgment." This writer seems to have been worked up to the highest pitch of resentment towards the author of the tract, and employs against him at every page the most violent and opprobrious expressions. The real author appears not to have been suspected at the time. Kendal says that some persons had presumed to sanction it with the name of a bishop of our church, but that he could not believe such a paltry writer to be a son, much less a father of the English church, and he intimates his belief that it was imported into London either from Holland or Italy*.

* The following is a specimen of
Kendal's language: "De histrionici
hujus, qui vocatur, dialogismi autore, quis fuerit, nec constat, nec refert.
Nimis se prodit, non tantum Calviniani
nominis, sed et totius orthodoxæ doc-

Another work, which has been by almost common consent* attributed to Mr. Sancroft, is the tract called *Modern Policies*,

trinæ hostem, forte juratum, certe infensum, utpote qui clarissimos omnes Ecclesiarum Reformatarum heroes et fundatissimos receptæ religionis articulos, scurrili quidem sed et inficeto stylo petulantius perstringit."

The *Fur Prædestinatus* appears to have been reprinted a short time before the year 1703, in a work entitled *Reflections on a Dialogue between a Calvinistical Preacher and a Thief*. In 1814, an English translation of it was prepared and published by Dr. Nichols, Dean of Middleham, with an appendix, exemplifying the argument by the case of a malefactor executed at Northampton.

Dr. Birch, in his *Life of Tillotson*, giving a short account of Archbishop Sancroft, (p. 160,) says that "he (Sancroft) joined with Mr. George Davenport and another of his friends in composing this satire on Calvinism." He does not state on what grounds he affirms that there was this association in the composition of the work. As the title-page of the *Fur Prædestinatus* states that it was published "Impensis F. G. Typis G. D." (probably Francis Gayer and George Davenport, both intimate friends of Mr. Sancroft,) it is very possible that Dr. Birch, or some one from whom he quoted, may have considered the persons designated by these initials as joined in the composition of the work, although the words clearly imply nothing more than they united in the expense of publishing it: and this may be the sole origin of the notion that others besides Sancroft were concerned in writing it. Dr. Salter, in a note to the preface to *WHICHCOTE'S Aphorisms*, considers Sancroft as the sole author of the *Fur Prædestinatus*.—p. 105. The general belief that this tract was composed by Sancroft, added to the positive testi-

mony on the subject, has been deemed conclusive. It ought, however, to be mentioned that a statement is made by Thomas Jackson, in his *Life of Goodwin*, that the tract first appeared in the United States in the early part of the seventeenth century, and was supposed to be the production of H. Alatus, a person of some note among the Remonstrants. See *Life of Goodwin*, p. 250. Mr. George Davenport above mentioned was settled after the Restoration in the county of Durham, under the patronage of Bishop Cosin; succeeded Sancroft in the rectory of Houghton le Spring, in that county, in 1664, and died in 1667, having been a great benefactor to the living.—See HUTCHINSON'S *History of Durham*.

* Notwithstanding the common ascription of this celebrated tract to the pen of Sancroft, it ought to be stated that an edition of it appeared in 1690, to which the name of W. Blois is attached. It appears from Sancroft's letters that a person of this name was a dear and intimate friend of his; and it is quite possible that they may have been associated in the work. Sancroft, writing to this friend, July 10, 1648, on a rumour of his marriage, thus expresses himself: "I am told you have gained by those magnetic attractions you are so full of, a precious gem of Suffolk gentry, and enchased it in your bosom. If so, may the richest blessings of heaven shed themselves in your lap, and every day crown your loves with new endearments."—(See Tann. MSS.) The tract is published in Lord Somers's Collection of Tracts, and in 1817 it was republished separately, with a short preface and appendix. In 1681, a small volume entitled *Machiavel Redivivus*, by J. Yalden, Esq., was published, taken almost word for word from this tract.

first published in 1651. It is no slight proof of its great popularity, and, it may be added, of the effect it must have had on the state of public opinion, that a seventh edition of it was published in 1657. Indeed, as it was one of the most successful, so it was undoubtedly one of the ablest pamphlets that appeared in those times for the purpose of exposing the hypocritical and wicked policy of the then prevailing party. The title-page states that it was written by an eye-witness; and, in truth, it bears the strongest internal evidence of proceeding from the pen of one who not only saw, but traced with a keen and penetrating eye, all the hidden and intricate windings of the hollow and crooked policy which had been too successfully practised; who not only discerned all its lineaments as they showed themselves on the surface, but followed it into those recesses of the heart in which it was engendered. The whole is written in a tone of free and light good-humour, covering a vein of keen and cutting irony. The quaintness of the style gives it a character of simplicity which is peculiarly pleasing. The matter is enforced and embellished with a great variety of illustrations, and a mass of quotations from different authors, which attest at once the extent of the author's reading, and his skill and judgment in applying it.

This tract was published at a time when it was dangerous to speak the truth in plain and undisguised terms, and when, therefore, the talent which our author possessed, and so happily exercised, of striking down craft and wickedness with the shafts of satire and irony, was peculiarly valuable. "It is foolish," he says in his address to the reader, "to laugh in the face of Dionysius, and dangerous to shrug before Andronicus. It is not good to tempt the displeasures of tyrants upon idle scores; a thin shield will serve to keep out the style of a satirist; nor can I commend him that lost his bishopric for a romance. Therefore I brand not persons, but things; and, if any man's guilt flashes in his face when he reads, let him mend the error, and he is unconcerned."

It is dedicated "to my Lord R. B. E.," by which initials, there seems little doubt, is meant Ralph (Brownrigg) Bishop of Exeter*, between whom and Mr. Sancroft great intimacy, as

* See note at p. 17.

has been already stated, subsisted. The plan which the author pursues is, that of laying down in detail, as the principles on which a true politician should act, those false principles on which the wicked politicians of his day had too successfully acted, and then exposing those principles to the contempt and abhorrence of the reader, by the manner in which he states and illustrates them. At the close of each separate topic, he drops the ironical style, and gives a few short and pithy sentences of serious admonition to the reader.

The tract is well worthy of perusal, as containing much valuable truth, happily expressed and applied, and as exhibiting a close and accurate knowledge of the human heart. It is to be contemplated, not only with reference to those times and characters, with a view to which it was more immediately written, but also as applying generally to all times in which similar delusions prevail, and similar practices are followed. Never, indeed, more than at the period to which it refers, were the ways of unsound and nefarious policy more successfully pursued; never was religion more used as a cloak for unhallowed ambition, and never were right and wrong more unhappily confounded. But, as long as the human heart remains what it is, so long, we may be too certain, will occasions recur, in which similar arts of policy will be, more or less, pursued: this exposure of them, therefore, can never be out of date, nor wholly without use in the application.

Amongst the literary works to which Mr. Sancroft gave a part of his attention during the republican times, was a Collation of the Vulgate Translation of the New Testament, with those of Beza and other moderns, in the Four Gospels and the Acts, published in 1655, in which the author's object is to show that the Vulgate reading is preferable to all the later ones. This work * was undertaken under the auspices of Lancelot Andrews,

* The book is scarce. It is entitled "Veteris Interpretis cum Beza aliisque recentioribus Collatio, in Quatuor Evangeliiis et Apostolorum Actis, in qua, annon sæpius absque justâ satis causâ hi ab illo discesserint, disquiritur. Authore Johanne Boisio Ecclesiæ Eliensis Canonico, opus auspiciis Reverendi Præsulis, Lanceloti, Wintoniensis Episcopi, *τον μακαρίου*, cæptum et perfectum. London, 1655." The only copy I have seen is one in the possession of the Rev. H. J. Todd, in which is the following in MS. by an old hand, "Præfationis hujus ad Lectorem Autor perhibetur Gul. Sancroft

bishop of Winchester, by John Boys, prebendary of Ely. The object of it is to defend the Vulgate, which had long borne the sanction of the Church, against the innovations of modern translators. What part of the work itself came from the hand of Mr. Sancroft, cannot be ascertained; but the preface, though appearing without a name, has been universally ascribed to his pen; and indeed it bears such striking evidences of his peculiar style and manner, as scarcely to admit of a doubt. After lamenting that the learned persons to whom he refers, Beza and others, had not rather employed their time in correcting the Vulgate than in making entirely new translations, he thus proceeds, with allusion to the state of the times:—

“Observe, reader, with me, and lament over, as you observe, the character of an age verging to decrepitude, and of a world hastening to destruction. Now-a-days, no reformation is acceptable, except, when the foundations being entirely rooted up, everything rises new. To such a degree do we now breathe, and sigh over (*spiramus suspiramusque*) all things new; new lights, a new England, a new world, a new and fifth monarchy, a new and fifth gospel, if it so please God.” In another passage, “Hear, reader, but in a whisper, lest the people overhear: the worst of all methods of reformation, although the newest, is to destroy for the purpose of building; which plan those who have hitherto followed, have procured for us an exchange, not like that of Homer, of gold for brass; but like that of Horace, of round for square; that is, of things unstable and perishing for firm and durable, for, whereas it is the character of old things to be firm, like a cube or four-cornered figure; so most new things bear resemblance to a sphere, which is moved by the slightest touch, as standing on a point only, and having no basis*.” He states at the close that the learned Lancelot Andrews, then

postea Archiep. Cantuar.” In the *Biographia Britannica*, it is stated, in giving the list of Archbishop Sancroft’s publications, that he edited Bishop Andrews’s Defence of the Vulgate translation of the Bible, with a preface of his own. This description is not accurate; both the title-page and the preface state that John Boys was the

author of the work; Sancroft probably assisted in it, or superintended it generally.

* The author of this preface deals in quaint expressions, and occasionally condescends to a pun. In one part he says, “everrit domum vidua evangelica non evertit.”

bishop of Ely, wished to undertake this defence of the Vulgate; but, being himself prevented by various public occupations, committed the work to John Boys, a man of all others best qualified for it, and well known to the learned for his notes on St. Chrysostom.

From the time of Mr. Sancroft's ejection from his fellowship to the Restoration, in 1660, the particulars of his private history can only be scantily gleaned from such casual notices as happen to have been preserved. He appears to have found an asylum principally, during the earlier portion of this interval, at his brother's house at Fresingfield, paying occasional visits to his friends in London and in other parts. But even the places of his residence can scarcely be discovered, except from the superscription of such letters as have been preserved, addressed to him at different periods.

The emoluments of his academical situation having ceased, his means of maintaining himself must have been greatly reduced. It has appeared, from one of his former letters, that an advantageous offer was made to him about the time of his losing his fellowship: it is probable either that he did not accept this offer, or that he did not long retain the situation to which it referred; for we find him frequently changing his residence, and apparently always visiting amongst his private friends. There is reason to believe, that some little property came to him on his father's death; possibly, also, some profit accrued to him from his publications; and he may have been enabled to make some savings from the emoluments of his fellowship. But, whatever were his circumstances, at the best far from affluent, many of those who were sufferers in the same cause with himself were reduced to a state of real destitution; and, as will be abundantly seen from some of the following letters, he on many occasions displayed a noble spirit of liberality in imparting a portion of his own scanty means for the relief of those amongst his brethren who were more in need than himself.

In March, 1652, we find him resident at Triplow, in Cambridgeshire, and writing from thence to his friend Mr. (afterwards Sir Henry) North*. He appears to have been consulted

* See *Familiar Letters of Dr. William Sancroft to Mr. North*, p. 1. published in 1757.

respecting the exercises of some young academician, and to have passed at first a judgment which he discovered to be too unfavourable.—“Though it be unusual,” he says, “for the foot to preserve the horse, yet here, beyond expectation, the prose has rescued the verse. All that can be said in my excuse is, that, if they be not theirs’ whom I suspected, they are his who, if he thrives on at this high rate, will quickly write as lofty and as trim a line, as either Thorius or Heinsius. Had the theme been one word shorter which you gave him, the boy had clearly confuted it, and so sudden a growth might well have put in a demur to *nemo repente fuit*. In a grove so fairly promising, (though I have taken but a glance or two at it) I dare assure myself I discover the poetical laurel happily prosperous among the rest; green even in winter, and sweetly flourishing upon so uncouth a subject. You do well to love and to cherish so fair a morning, since it is a sure prognostic of a beautiful day likely to follow.”

Although he was driven from his residence at Cambridge, he appears to have maintained a correspondence with his friends there, and to have continued to take a great interest in the affairs of the University. The following letters, addressed to him by H. Paman, give an interesting and lively picture of the state of things there.

“TO MY EVER HONOURED FRIEND, MR. WILLIAM SANCROFT, FROM
HENRY PAMAN*.

“*Dated St. John’s, March 5th, 1652.*

“Honoured Tutor,

“I did intend this day to have been at Triplow, but that some letters from my father, which inquire after your health, arrested my resolution. I hope, by this opportunity, to know that your ague is gone, and your health renewed and young again. F—— at London thanked God for the bitter mercy†. And Peters more scurvily said, the business was so long doubtful that God was brought to his hums and hawes, which way he should fling the victory. Most believe, it was an Edgehill vic-

* Harl. MSS. 3783. 124.

† This seems to allude to the great naval battle fought between the Eng-

lish and Dutch admirals, Blake and Van Tromp, for three days, about February 18, 1652-53. See ECHARD.

tory. After so long banishment, the Common Prayer last Thursday at night entered into Trinity chapel, and once more consecrated it. Dr. Hill, next morning, they say, snuffed; he thought sure his incense would not ascend with strange fire, and presently swept the chapel with an exposition. Dr. Comber had leave to be buried in his own vineyard; and, though he might not live upon his own ground, he may sleep and rest there. He showed so much gentleness while he lived, there is no fear of an angry tormenting ghost."

"TO MR. WILLIAM SANCROFT, (AT MR. GAYER'S LODGINGS, IN THE MIDDLE TEMPLE,) FROM HENRY PAMAN.

"St. John's, March 30th, 1653.

"Honoured Tutor,

"I humbly thank you for the account I received of your health, which is always very acceptable. I am sorry to hear Mr. Gayer has got an ague. I was with Mr. Orator, (for so his first and excellent fruit of his office yesterday makes me remember him,) who returns his humble service. Mr. Peters preached here on Sunday, and, in the general, cheated the company and expectation with a sober honest sermon; only he was not so severe as altogether to forget what many came for, but satisfied them sometimes in words and sometimes in action. At Ely, he told the people, the draining of the fens was a divine work, having a resemblance to the work of the third day. Mr. Boreman preached yesterday, who, they say, deceived few men's expectations, for it was generally thought a grave piece of affectation. He told Mrs. Comber, she need not use the orator, for he would sufficiently supply that; which yet was the fairest piece of the solemnity. He observed that the Dr. was born of New-year's day, and that it was then presaged he would be a deodate, a fit new-year's gift for God to bestow on the world. He was a Joseph, the twelfth son, and christened on the Epiphany twelfth day—born and christened on two eminent holydays, in high esteem with the Church constantly before these times. He drove the chariot of this college for fourteen years, till a boisterous northern storm cast him out of the box. He

was called to dispute at St. Andrew's in Scotland; they wondered as much at his subtilty, as we have done at their strange actions since.—These are some fragments which I make bold to send you of that long meal we had, without one drop of liquor. The solemnity was private, in Trinity College—some few invited had gloves and ribbons, but no entertainment beside.

“Honoured Tutor, your most real servant,

“HENRY PAMAN.

“My most humble service to Mr. Gayer.”

“TO MR. WILLIAM SANCROFT, FROM HENRY PAMAN*.

“*Dated St. John's, July 3rd, 1656.*

“The business of the commencement is over, from whence none returns with fairer credit than Mr. Frost, who kept the B. D. act, Dr. Boylston the other. They call him Dr. Deborah, for so is his wife's name; and she, they say, the greatest prophetess. Our nation of physicians still increase; we have five doctors this year; so numerous we are, that we shall soon be reduced to the necessity of practising upon one another, as the great fish on the smaller. We had one B. D. out of Suffolk, who came rather to make sport and satisfy his wife, than for credit to the University; his name is Beversham. I will give you a taste of him. In his English sermon upon this text—‘The wind bloweth where it listeth,’—‘A twig from the stem of Jesse whipt Nicodemus into a right understanding of regeneration’. In his prayer, this was a piece of confession; ‘Lord, the babe of grace in the womb of our souls has not leapt at the tidings of our salvation.’”

During the years 1653, 1654, and 1655, the letters are principally addressed to him at Fresingfield, at the house of his brother, Mr. Thomas Sancroft. Two more letters from him to Mr. North, written in 1655, happen to be preserved. They are chiefly valuable as they tend to unfold the private features of his character and to display his mode of thinking and feeling in his familiar hours.

* Harl. MSS. 3783. 192.

The first of these*, dated February 13, evidently refers to some composition which his friend had requested him to revise.—“What you so kindly proffer,” he says, “I shall impatiently expect, and most gladly receive, though not as a judge, yet as a friend. It is but the handsome disguise of your love and friendliness, that, where you mean a kindness, you will pretend to receive one, and so render your courtesy still the more obliging. Nor can you need any approbation of mine before you appear in public; it is only an assurance of your friendship, that you admit me into your tiring room to see you act your part there, before you tread the stage. And therefore, though I neither hope, nor pretend to send back your papers with any advantages they bring not with them, yet can I not refuse the entertainment you proffer me in the sight of so much of neat and elegant (as I promise myself in your composures,) after having been so long a stranger to anything of the nature.”

The second†, dated from Fresingfield, June 27th, is written to his friend residing at Cambridge. He says—“It is commencement time, and I must not dissemble my curiosity. If you please to give me the Cambridge Iliad in your nutshell, and spend your next page in the names of the respondents with your thesis, and what else you shall judge worth the remarking, you will oblige me. From hence, you cannot expect I should tell you anything, but that I have here thick shades, and cool walks, but no company in them, except that of my own thoughts. In which, if I say I often meet with Bury and Bansfield and Cambridge too (for your sake and Mr. Widdington’s), you will easily believe me; since ’tis hard to forget so much worth and so much friendliness met together. Cebes’s Table, illustrated by the hand you mention, will look like one of Apelles’s pieces, new washed by a Vandyke or Rubens; and the last hand, if it creates not new beauties, will discover what else had lain hid. That I have not all this while waited upon the Doctor at Bury, and my friends at Bansfield, (for whom I yet preserve a most high and cordial respect,) attribute it, if you please, partly to my having been unhorsed since the beginning of May, and partly to the sluggishness of my temper, which renders me unwilling to stir, especially in sum-

* See *Familiar Letters to Mr. North*, p. 3.

† Ibid. p. 5.

mer time ; which yet is not so great, but that the very mention of going over sea, in so good company as that of Mr. Gardiner, is enough to rouse me, though not so far as to form any steady design or resolve, or to make him any proposition concerning it as from me, yet so as to inquire further of you, if you be so far privy to his designs, when he would go, and whither, and how long he will stay out. I am heartily sorry that he cannot yet take truce with his grief, that sits so nigh him : I know nothing more likely to put an end to it, than either to travel beyond sea, or to re-marry at home. In which estate, that Dick Holden thrives so well, I am glad to hear ; God send him joy in his wife's fruitfulness, and his brother contentment in the want of it ; which I hope I shall not fail to preserve in myself too."

Amongst the distinguished persons with whom Mr. Sancroft maintained at this time a familiar correspondence, was Dr. John Cosin. This very eminent divine, in common with many other luminaries and ornaments of the English church, had suffered severely from the troubles of the times, and was now awaiting in banishment the return of happier days. As he bore a most important share at a subsequent period in laying the foundation of Mr. Sancroft's elevation in the church, it may not be amiss to give the outline of his history. He was born at Norwich, in 1594, received his education at Caius College, Cambridge, and became fellow of that college. In early life, recommended, as is probable, by his talents and his proficiency in learning, he found two eminent patrons, Dr. Overall, bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, to whom he was librarian, and Dr. R. Neile, bishop of Durham, to whom he was domestic chaplain, and who, in 1624, collated him to a stall in the cathedral church of Durham. He became, at an early period, obnoxious to the Puritan party, having been known to assist at various meetings at the bishop of Durham's, with Dr. Laud and others. In 1634, he was made master of Peterhouse ; in 1640, he held the situation of vice-chancellor at Cambridge, and was appointed dean of Peterborough, in the same year. In 1642, he suffered under the storm which threatened to overwhelm all that was upright and honest in the nation. He was impeached by the Commons, through the influence of the Puritans ; all his preferments were

sequestered, and himself obliged to fly the kingdom. He retired to Paris, where he afterwards officiated as chaplain to a part of Queen Henrietta's household, and as minister to a congregation of Protestants, and employed himself in literary pursuits. His circumstances at this period seem to have been very far from affluent. After the Restoration, he took possession of his former preferments; and the king, reflecting on his services and his sufferings, made him bishop of Durham. He filled this see for the space of eleven years, and was eminently distinguished from the munificent use which he made of his ample revenue.

The following is part of a letter written to Mr. Sancroft, by this eminent person during his exile at Paris. It is interesting, as affording an attestation, from such a quarter, of the estimation in which Mr. Sancroft's name was at this time held in the church for general probity, uprightness, and firmness of character, and also as apparently affording a proof of Sancroft's liberality in imparting assistance from his own scanty means, to his friend when placed in straitened circumstances. The letter is addressed, "To my very worthy and honoured friend, Mr. W. Sancroft, at London,"—it is dated Paris, February 3, 1656. After mentioning the gratification he had received from the society of a gentleman whom Mr. Sancroft had recommended to him, and who was now returning to London, he proceeds* :—"In the mean while, he will have the pleasure and benefit of being near to you, whose religious and prudent instructions have already rendered him so great a lover of virtue, and fixed such principles of faith and good life in him, that by the grace of God he will remain most constant and true to them all. I am right glad to hear still, (as I have been told by divers persons heretofore,) how firm and unmoved you continue your own standing in the midst of these great and violent storms that are now raised against the Church of England; which, for my part, notwithstanding the outward glory and dress that she had, be in these evil times taken from her, yet I honour and reverence above all the other churches of the world; for she bears upon her, more signally than any other that I know does, the marks of Christ, which, when all is done, will be our greatest glory.

"For the favour which you sent me, I render you many

* See Harleian MSS. 3783. 102.

thanks; and though you call it *tantillum*, yet it will help me to a greater purchase than I could have been able here to make without it; *totus enim sum in conquirendis bonis libris*. And besides, the token is the more acceptable to me, because it comes from a person whose worth and virtue is at a high value with me, and of whose good acquaintance I have been long desirous. Mr. Davenport, (who truly is *ad mentem meam*) will say the rest, and tell you after what condition we make shift here to live in this place, where I am, sir,

“Your most affectionate and humble servant,

J. COSIN.”

In the year 1657, Mr. Sancroft had the offer of a chaplaincy in the family of Lord Herbert; an appointment carrying with it, indeed, no great prospect of advantage, besides that of an agreeable retreat for a gentleman and a man of letters in the polished society which the house of a nobleman was likely to afford. The following letter from Bishop Brownrigg, conveying to him the offer, shows that a situation of this description was an object to which his wishes were at this time directed.

“TO MY VERY WORTHY FRIEND, MR. SANCROFT*,

“*Highgate, October 10th, 1657.*

“Loving and beloved sir,

“You may remember that I speaking with you about a chaplain for my Lady Capell, you then expressed your inclination to accept of such an employment: now, sir, I received this day a letter from my Lady Herbert, my Lady Capell’s eldest daughter, who is married to my Lord Herbert, heir to the Marquis of Worcester, by which she is desirous I might find out a chaplain for her, to live in their house; the salary will be 40*l.* per annum, and all other accommodations; the work a sermon in the forenoon on Sundays, and prayers every day. I know the allowance, though otherwise competent, yet is unworthy of you; but the character which is given of him whom she desires (as is largely set out by Mr. Baker, my Lady Capell’s chaplain) is so fitted for you, that I could not forbear writing to you, heartily wishing you would

* Harleian MSS. 3781. 7.

consent to this request, if your health will allow you to enter on it. The letter sent to me was dated in August, but came not to my hand, till this 10th October; but I will speedily write to Cashiobury, where my lady lives, near St. Alban's, and then, upon your answer to me, I shall forthwith acquaint them with my recommendations of you. Sir, you will readily interpret this offer of mine *in meliorem partem*, my heart is not straightened to you, though my hands and all opportunities be. With my most hearty love sealed up to you, I rest, sir,

“ Yours, *animitus*,

“ RA. EXON.”

He was probably prevented from accepting this situation by the project which he appears to have contemplated for some time, and which he now matured, of travelling into foreign parts. This design was opposed to the wishes of many of his friends, who thought that his talents and services could ill be spared at home. One of them, writing to him, September 7, 1657, says: “Think no more of the sea; you may challenge the privilege *tutò clarere domi*. Your fame will go thither without your person; and you will obtain that by sitting still, which others would vainly pursue by travel: *orbe clues toto*. Let others go on shipboard to be known and heard of; you need not, neither can we spare you; hundreds will tell you so.” Another writing to him, February 18th, 1654*, while he was absent on his foreign travels, says,—“The nation cannot be well without you; never was it so much distempered, as since you have left it; it hath lost both its health and its wits, and all in it are either sick or phrenetical: till you return, we expect no amendment.”

But, whatever may have been the warm expressions of his friends on this occasion, we may safely conclude, from all that we know of his character, that he would not have withdrawn himself to foreign parts, had he perceived any method by which his services at home could avail for the support of the cause which he had so deeply at heart. His first project appears not to have extended beyond the fixing his residence in Holland. That country was now becoming the great centre of union for the

* Harleian MSS. 3784. 84, &c.

exiled royalists of England; and he probably found there a society more suited to his habits and wishes, than he could do in England.

He appears to have first passed over into Holland in November, 1657. A letter* addressed to him at Amsterdam about the middle of the month, shows that he was then resident in that capital. In the next month, we find him removed to Utrecht, where, as appears from the superscriptions of letters addressed to him†, he continued to reside during the whole of 1658, and till about the middle of 1659. His character, as a divine of eminence, followed him to Holland: in August, 1658, he was honoured‡ with an invitation to preach a sermon before the Princess of Orange§; and soon afterwards, a proposal was set on foot for appointing him one of her chaplains. We find no trace of the appointment having ever taken place, although nothing is known of the cause of the failure. In the autumn of 1658, he was joined in Holland by a very intimate friend, named Robert Gayer, with whom he had long been in habits of frequent correspondence; and this gentleman tempted him to undertake a tour in the following year to the southern parts of Europe. In a letter ||

* Harl. MSS. 3784. 174.

† Ibid. 3783. 105, &c.

‡ See a letter from Dr. T. Brown, dated August 15th, 1658, to Mr. Sancroft's friend, Mr. Michael Honeywood.—Harl. MSS. 3783. 60.

§ Mary, the eldest daughter of Charles the First, was married to William of Nassau, Prince of Orange, in 1641. Her husband died of the small-pox, November, 1650, and nine days after his death, she was delivered of a son, afterwards William the Third. (*Hist. of William the Third.*)—In Harl. MSS. 3784. 172, 173, are two letters, dated the Hague, September 18th and 24th, 1658, from Thomas Page to Mr. Sancroft at Utrecht, in which, after mentioning a proposal made by Dr. Brown for him (Mr. Sancroft) to become "an officiating chaplain to the Princess," he says, "No man will be more forward to assist you in that enterprize than

himself, if you will endeavour to procure the King's or Duke of York's, or any other recommendation in that behalf, which may appear valuable."

|| See Harl. MSS. 3784. 41. A very close intimacy appears to have subsisted between this gentleman's family and Mr. Sancroft. A Mr. John Gayer, probably brother to Robert Gayer, died a short time before this, and bequeathed a sum of money and a small annuity to Mr. Sancroft, which he mentions as a debt in the following clause of his will: "I leave in particular the sum of 200*l.* due from me to my loving friend, Wm. Sancroft, clerk, and also 60*l.* by the year, during the natural life of the said Wm. Sancroft, due to him from me."—Harl. MSS. 3784. 208. There is a letter (Harl. MSS. 3783. 97) to Mr. Sancroft, signed "Revera Constantier," March 12, 1657, which, it appears from internal evidence, is written by his

addressed to him the month of October, Mr. Gayer says, "My greatest design in Holland is to gain your company; and my inclinations are, to reside there this winter, if yours do not lead them another way; and in the spring, if my desire suit with yours, I shall be glad to creep into a warmer climate, as Italy, or elsewhere you please, and think will best suit your constitution."

Writing to a friend, about this time, Mr. Sancroft states:—"It was with so much kindness and friendship that my dear friend Mr. R. Gayer put over hither to find me out, and has since invited me to accompany him in his design of going further; that, however I had resolved not to travel otherwise than upon my own score, and independent of any other, yet I could not resist, but have consented to go along. I have the rather done it, having so long and so intimately known him."

The project of travelling, which was thus intended for the spring of 1659, was not put into execution till about the month of July*. Previously to his departure from Utrecht, Mr. Sancroft received the intelligence of the death of his stepmother, his father's second wife; and in a letter to his brother, on the occasion, he expresses himself in the following feeling terms.

fellow-traveller, Mr. Robert Gayer. The following extracts from it are worth producing, in proof of the enthusiastic friendship which he bore to Mr. Sancroft,

"DEAR FRIEND,

"I received yours, Monday, March 7th, but I could not make return sooner than this. I am sorry to hear you threaten us with so long an absence, and a greater distance; but I hope to see you there, if not here, before you remove your quarters; but go you whither you will, you shall not escape me. I'll follow as close as your shadow, and unless the warm reviving morning sun of your ever past kindnesses set in the evening of our days, 'Revera Constantier' will never leave you so: *montes atque aquora sperno*. Sir, as soon as you will please to send me your bond, I shall give another to the same effect, to those hands you appoint.

And for the annuity, we must suspend till we see the issue at a month or six weeks' time, which possibly may give me a power to make good my brother's engagements, to tie land for security of your annuity, which, when in my power, revera, I promise to do it. Friend, my ink is almost frozen again, but my heart and real inclination to serve you will never freeze, but with the hand that holdeth the pen that telleth you, I shall not need a secretary to give an account of the execution of your so small commands, which are the measures of your kindnesses to him who in the very serving you hath so high a reward."

* One letter, dated in June, is directed to Mr. Sancroft at Utrecht; and another, dated August 28th, is addressed to Geneva. Thus, in the interval between these dates, he moved from the former to the latter place. See Harl. MSS. 3783. 103, 104. The

MR. W. SANCROFT TO HIS BROTHER *.

May 20, 1659.

"Dear brother, your's of May 3, I received the 18th of the same; and in it, as I ought, resented the news of my mother-in-law's death. 'Tis an object I will fix and charge upon my memory; and often represent to my thoughts my dear father lying buried betwixt his two wives; and though I am now ready to wander further from you, yet will I hope, one day, to return and find my last home at his feet, which is my desire. Upon the news you send me, it cannot be unseasonable to reflect a little upon our mortality; especially there being now none left upon earth who gave to us those superior relations of father and mother, scarce of uncle or aunt; so that we stand in the front of the battle, and in order of nature must look to be the next spoils of death's all-conquering dart. Let us not then flatter ourselves, brother; for in earnest we grow old: and 'tis strange that, of so many as we are, none have yet laid their heads in the dust: which we shall do with greater confidence and comfort, if betimes we provide and prepare for it; nay, and with joy too, if we consider how wretched a world we bid farewell to; God Almighty send the next generation a more comfortable pass through it than we are like to see."

It has already appeared that Mr. Sancroft, in a noble spirit of munificence, was in the habit of dispensing a portion of his contracted means for the relief of the necessities of his suffering

charges of this journey seem to have been chiefly, if not wholly, borne by Mr. Gayer, who was probably a man of fortune. In the Harleian Collection (3783. 1.) is a letter, dated London, May 12th, 1659, from Robert Abdy to Mr. Paolo del Sera at Venice, telling him that he will have received a letter of April 15th, by the hands of Mr. Gayer, desiring him to furnish him with the value of 1000*l*. He proceeds—"This gentleman (the bearer hereof) does accompany him in his travels, and will therefore, I suppose, have little or

no occasion to take up any money; yet not knowing what may fall out, I do hereby entreat you, (if he shall desire it,) to furnish him with the value of 1000*l*. sterling, either in money or in bills, as he shall desire it, for any parts of Italy, taking his receipts or bills for the same, which shall be punctually satisfied by your friend and servant."—At the bottom is added,—“My friend's name above-mentioned is Mr. William Sandcroft.”

* Tann. MSS. 51. 66.

brethren. Some letters addressed to him about this time, further illustrate this amiable feature of his character.

The following extract of a letter from Robert Creyghtone* expresses gratitude for favours received from Gayer, in as glowing terms as can well be imagined. It is dated from the Hague, June 16, 1659, and directed to him at Utrecht†.

“My very worthy friend and brother, Mr. Sancroft, you are a most strange and miraculous good man to me, I must confess, who have pursued me with the greatest benefits, favours, and courtesies, that I ever received from any man, ever since I had the happiness, and I may truly call it a happiness, to know you ; your kindness and swelling bounty have exceeded the very name of bounty, and the greediest hope that could arise in myself, if I had had pretences towards you, or yet dependance on you. Three several times I have been plentifully supplied by yourself, and through your means, from that noble gentleman, Mr. Gayer, but this last exceeding all, and transcending the vastness of your own good will in giving, and my modesty in receiving : you have sown your seed in barren ground, you may be sure, for no earth is able to bring forth crops to so redundant and overflowing seed ; yet you shall never sow it on an unthankful soil, for, whilst I live, I never shall forget it.”

An instance has already appeared of his bounty to Dr. Cosin. The following letters from that eminent person in his exile at

* There seems every reason to believe that this is the Robert Creighton who was afterwards Bishop of Bath and Wells. He was born in 1593, and was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he was afterwards elected fellow. He was public orator of the university from the year 1627 to 1639 ; his name also appears in the list of Greek professors : he seems to have been forced to resign this office, and to have been re-appointed to it at the time of the Restoration. During the rebellion, his loyalty brought him into danger, and he escaped to Charles II. who made him his chaplain. At the Restoration he was made Dean of Wells, and in 1670, Bishop of Bath and Wells, but held the latter dignity only

two years. He was esteemed a very learned man ; his principal work is a translation from Greek into Latin, Sylvester Syguropolus's History of the Council of Florence, printed at the Hague, 1660.—See *Biographia Britannica* and *Kennett's MS. Collections*, 986. On the letter here quoted in the text, Mr. Baker (see Baker's MSS. at Cambridge) remarks, “These are good words ; what returns he made I have not read, though he was afterwards a bishop.” From the preceding account it appears that he was a bishop only for two years, and that at a time when Dr. Sancroft was holding high situations in the church.

† Harl. MSS. 3783. 105.

Paris, show that the favours of a pecuniary nature bestowed upon him by Mr. Sancroft, and by his friend Mr. Gayer, were by no means confined to a single instance.

FROM DR. COSIN*.—"FOR MY VERY MUCH HONoured FRIEND
MR. WILLIAM SANCROFT, AT UTRECHT."

"Sir,

"Dated Paris, June 26, 1659.

"By the order which you were pleased to give unto Mr. J. Abeels, of Amsterdam, I have here at Paris received 119 crowns tournois, which, being so great a supply to my present condition, and coming from so good a hand as your's is, layeth a very great obligatoin upon me to return you my most grateful acknowledgment of your special kindness and favour to me herein. It may well be that I am in this particular likewise beholden to Mr. Gayer, of whose generous freedom and bounty I have had divers testimonies heretofore; Mr. Abeels' letter names him not; but I heard from Mr. Davenport some while since, that you and he were together at Utrecht, where I beseech God to send his best blessings upon you both. I have of late lost the force of my reading eye (having never had but one for that purpose), and I am endeavouring every day, by the art and help of the most skilful oculist here, to recover it again; whereof they put me in good hope when the cataract is once come to maturity, which they say will be about eight or ten months hence. In the mean while, not to be able to read (nor to write but by guess as I now do) is the greatest misery that ever yet befel me. I desire Mr. Gayer and you to accept of my thanks, and with the continuance of your good affection to me to let me have the benefit of your prayers."

FROM DR. COSIN TO MR. SANCROFT †, "CHEZ M. PERROT, RUE DE
CHANOINS, GENEVE."

"Sir,

"Dated August 28th, 1659.

"I have received your's of August 9; but my sight is so obstructed (as it has been now these five or six months together,

* Harl. MSS. 3783. 103.

† Ili. 1. 3783. 104.

with a cataract in both my eyes) that I cannot, without much difficulty, either read or write any letters; yet I neglected not to make my acknowledgments in writing, and to give you thanks for what you ordered to be paid unto me here at Paris in June last, though it should seem my letter is not come to your hands, and therefore I will renew my thankfulness to you again, being more obliged to you for the several good supplies you have been pleased to make and to procure to me, than I am any way able to recompense. And what I say to you I beseech you say for me to Mr. Robert Gayer, whom I have great reason, among others that freely dispense their piety, to affect and honour. His intended journey, and your's, into Italy, where you can see little else but vice and vanity, if God bless our hopes now begun in our own country, will be soon at an end: for we are here assured that there is in England a considerable army of ten thousand about Chester, and divers others in several parts of the kingdom, that are resolved to put off their new masters, and to call in the King, who, with his brother the Duke of York, is already gone that way, to attend God's good pleasure and blessing upon us all. I am glad to hear from you that my history of the Scripture Canon* pleased you so well; but it was my late sitting up at nights to follow that work, that lost me the vigour of my eyes, and will retard me, till I recover my sight, from perfecting any other such treatise which I intended to publish, whereof that which Dr. Morley showed you, if God give me leisure, is like to be the first."

The course of their travels may be traced by incidental notices. The following letter to Mr. Sancroft shows that they passed through Spa and Maestricht in their way to Geneva. It attests further, his munificence to his friends in distress, and is interesting in showing that, at this time, the hope of the happy political change which ensued, was clearly beginning to dawn.

* The title-page of this work is as follows: "A Scholastical History of the Holy Scripture; or the certain and indubitate Books thereof, as they are received in the Church of England. | Compiled by Dr. Cosin, Dⁿ of P. and M^r. of St. P. C. in the University of Cambridge (now sequestered)." London, 1657.

FROM JOHN EARLES "A M. S. A MAESTRICHT*."

"Dated Bruxelles, June 30th, (1659.)

"I hope it will be better, for all our sakes, and I hope shortly, though I can give you no other ground for it, but a general cheerfulness in the looks and words of those that should know best, and have no cause to be so cheerful if things were otherwise. Truly if we be not better shortly, I am afraid we shall be much worse than we have been; to-morrow will tell us more, and if there be anything worth your hearing, I will send it to the Spa after you. I wish you a good journey, as far as you go, and that you may not have cause to travel very far. My service, with all kindness, to my good friend Mr. Honeywood, who, without diminution of my thanks to you, I must suspect accessory to all kind offices done me by his friends."

They appear to have continued at Geneva till about the middle of September. In the month of November, we find them at Venice†, in the following March, at Padua, where Mr. Sancroft entered his name as a student‡, and in May§ or June we learn that they were at Rome||; but through what intermediate places they passed, and at what periods, between these two cities, cannot be ascertained. They were resident in the latter city when the following letter¶ to Mr. Sancroft arrived, conveying the intelligence so conformable to his warmest desires, and so flattering to his most anxious hopes, of the favourable change which affairs had taken in England. The letter is written by Michael Honeywood, dated from the Hague, May 21, 1660.

* Baker's MSS. at Cambridge, 35. 117.

† By two letters addressed to him there, bearing date Nov. 8th and 21st, 1650. See Harl. MSS. 3784. 97, 98.

‡ See a notice to this effect from a MS. volume in St. John's College, Oxford: "William Sancroft, at Padua, entered a student, as appears by a testimonial signed by the Prorector and Syndic, 10th March, 1660." GUTCH'S *Miscell. Curiosa*, Pref. p. xxix.

§ Leneve (see *Lives of Protestant Archbishops*) says, that on May 8, 1660,

Mr. Sancroft was elected one of the University preachers at Cambridge. This I conceive to be a mistake. I have searched the University Registers, to which he refers for his authority, and I find no trace of such an appointment. The mistake may have arisen from observing that the name of William Sancroft, the uncle of the Archbishop, appears in the list of preachers for 1618.

|| See Mr. Wharton's MS. account of Archbishop Sancroft.

¶ Harl. MSS. 3784. 99.

After apologizing for his delay in writing, he proceeds—
 “Now all these apologies over, I could not but write though it is a hard task to sit still so long together, being all half mad with over-joy of a sudden happiness befallen us by the recalling of his Majesty by both Houses of Parliament and the city of London, which (I doubt not but you have it from London better,) was upon our May-day, when, upon his Majesty’s letters and declaration to them, brought by Sir John Greenville, all was done, absolutely, without treaty or propositions; six lords, twelve commoners, four aldermen, with the recorder, and nine more of the city, daily expected here to fetch him;—too long to write, and not to be expressed the joy universally conceived. So you see (according to his late Majesty’s prophecy at the end of his excellent book,) *vota dederunt, quæ bella negarunt*; what worldly arms could not do, Christian arms, *preces et lacrymæ*, have done; God in his mercy hearing them, and making it his own work, without the help of man; *Deo gloria solique*. I hope now to be so happy as to see you and Mr. Gayer in England. God in heaven keep you both, and make us all thankful for this great blessing upon us and our miserable country.”

It will readily be believed that the travellers lost no time, after the receipt of this most welcome intelligence, in effecting their return to England. The arrival of Mr. Sancroft seems to have been anxiously expected by his friends; and situations of credit and emolument awaited his acceptance: amongst others*, a chaplaincy to a nobleman, with a handsome salary annexed, to which he was specially recommended as “a good scholar, a good preacher, and a pious man.” But his merits and his claims

* The following is an extract of a letter from the Bishop of Derry to a friend of Mr. Sancroft’s, conveying this offer; dated Aug. 9, 1680. “The only occasion of my writing at present is, my Lady of Ormond spake to me to procure her a chaplain for my Lord Steward, to live in the house with them, that was a good scholar, a good preacher, and a pious man. I know no man fitter for that employment than our friend Mr. Sancroft, and I do not know an employment better deserving

so good a man, either for present means or hopes. He shall have for his subsistence in present a donative without cure, of 400*l.* per ann. and his hopes (even certain hopes) are what he will. I wish he were coming over; but if not, I pray you by your first letter give him a call; it is worth two Scotch calls. And withal be pleased to remember my service to Gayer and him. I wonder why they come not over.”

were of a higher description, and demanded public acknowledgment; and the change which had taken place opened the prospect of his obtaining those remunerations which were justly due to him. He arrived in England, probably* in the month of September or October.

* The letter just quoted from the Bishop of Derry, written Aug. 9, expresses anxiety for his return; and another written to him in London, Nov. 20, (Harl. MSS. 3784. 202,) expresses the hope that he is "in good health, after his long and hasty journey." Thus the precise time of his return may be variously conjectured between these two periods.

CHAPTER III.

FROM THE RESTORATION TO HIS ELEVATION TO THE SEE OF CANTERBURY.

He is appointed Chaplain to Bishop Cosin—Sermon on the first Consecration of Bishops after the Restoration—Assists in the Revision of the Liturgy—Rapid Advancement in the Church—Made Prebendary of Durham—Dean of York—Master of Emmanuel—Dean of St. Paul's—Archdeacon of Canterbury—Takes an important part in forwarding the rebuilding of St. Paul's Cathedral—Measures for the advantage of the Church—Unexpected elevation to the Primacy—Letter of Congratulation from the University of Cambridge.

MR. SANCROFT, on his return to England, found the Church, together with the monarchical form of government, happily restored. One of the earlier acts of King Charles's government was to fill up the vacancies which had occurred in the higher situations of the Church; and Mr. Sancroft had the gratification of finding his venerable friend Dr. Cosin nominated, in recompense for his services, and for his sufferings, to the bishopric of Durham. This prelate lost no time in making the best return in his power for the favours he had received from Mr. Sancroft, and in paying, at the same time, a deserved tribute to his high character and talents, by making him his domestic chaplain. In this capacity, Mr. Sancroft was selected to preach a sermon in Westminster Abbey, on November 18th, at the consecration of his patron and six other new bishops*.

The sermon preached on this auspicious and remarkable occasion was published by the express desire, as appears from the dedication, of Bishop Cosin. The dedication, drawn up in Latin, is distinguished for the concise neatness of the expression, and the judicious selection of topics of encomium on the prelate to

* The seven bishops consecrated in Westminster Abbey at this early period after the Restoration, were, John Cosin, bishop of Durham; William Lucy, of St. David's; Benjamin Laney, of Peterborough; Hugh Lloyd, of Llandaff; Richard Stern, of Carlisle; Brian Walton, of Chester; John Gaunden, of Exeter.

whom it is addressed. The sermon must be read, like the greater part of the works of the divines of that period, with just allowances for some quaintness of expression and for the peculiar style of preaching then in vogue; according to which it was usual to make a number of minute and technical divisions of the subject, to introduce a mass of quotations and illustrations from the fathers and the classical writers, and to employ images and modes of expression which, according to modern ideas, are scarcely suited to the pulpit. With these allowances for defects, if such they be considered, defects which are chargeable not on the writer so much as on the taste of the times in which he wrote, the sermon must be considered as affording no unfavourable specimen of the talents of the author; of the extent and variety of his learning; of his clear method of reasoning; occasionally too, of his powers of eloquent description. The following representation of the Church rising from her ruins under the image of the phoenix rising from her funeral pile, has been particularly admired.

“Blessed be this day* (let God regard it from above, and a more than common light shine upon it!) in which we see the Phoenix arising from her funeral pile, and taking wing again; our holy mother, the Church, standing up from the dust and ruins in which she sate so long, taking† beauty again for ashes, and the garments of praise for the spirit of heaviness; remounting the episcopal throne, bearing the keys of the kingdom of heaven with her, and armed (we hope) with the rod of discipline; her hands spread abroad, to bless, and to ordain, to confirm the weak, and to reconcile the penitent; her breasts flowing with the sincere milk of the word; and girt with a golden girdle under the paps, tying up all by a meet limitation and restriction to primitive patterns, and prescripts apostolical. A sight so venerable and august that, methinks, it should at once strike love and fear into every beholder, and an awful veneration. I may confidently say it. It was never well with us, since we strayed from the due reverence we owed to heaven and her; and it is strange we should not sooner observe it, but run a maddening after other lovers, that ruined us, till God‡ hedged in our way

* Job iii. 4.

† Isaiah lxi. 3.

‡ Hosea ii. 6, 7.

with thorns, that we could no longer find them, and then we said, I will go, and return to my former husband; for then was it better with me than now."

One of the most important works in which the more eminent divines of the Church were engaged soon after the Restoration, was the review and alteration of the Liturgy.

King Charles, as is known from the public histories of the time, having imbibed favourable ideas of the Presbyterians from the part which some of their leaders had taken at the Restoration, granted a commission, bearing date March 25, 1661, for a certain number of the bishops, and an equal number of the Presbyterian divines, to meet and consult respecting the expediency of making such alterations in the Liturgy, as might obviate the objections of the Presbyterian party. At the conference which took place, well known under the name of the Savoy Conference, it was soon discovered that the divines of the latter party, so far from desiring only a few moderate alterations, would be satisfied with nothing less than such an alteration of the whole as would make it an entirely new work; and the commission expired without any thing being done. However, the episcopal divines, who met on this occasion, were satisfied in the result of the discussions, that some alterations in the book of Common Prayer were expedient, and they in consequence determined to bring the matter before the Convocation. The Convocation assembled on the 8th of May, 1661, and, after due deliberation, made considerable additions and alterations*.

* The following is the account of the alterations now made in the Liturgy, as given by Dr. Nichols.—See *Preface to Common Prayer*, p. 10.

"They began with the Office for the King's Birth and Return, which was brought in the 16th of May, being their second session. On the 18th of May, their third session, they proceeded to the Office of Baptism for those of riper years. By December 20, the book was completed, and subscribed to by the members of both Houses.

"The principal alterations which

were made in this review, were these. Several lessons in the Calendar were changed for others more proper for the days. The prayers upon particular occasions were disjoined from the Liturgy. The prayer for the Parliament, that for all Conditions of Men, and the General Thanksgiving, were added; several of the Collects were altered; the Epistles and Gospels were taken out of the last translation of the Bible, they having been read before according to the old. The Offices for the Baptism of those of Riper Years, the Form of Prayer to be used at

It is well known that Mr. Sancroft was eminently useful* in assisting in these alterations, although it is not easy to ascertain on what particular parts of the work, or to what extent, his services were employed. As he was not a member of Convocation at the time, for he then held no preferments, his name does not appear among those† to whom the preparation of any portion

Sea, the Form for the Martyrdom of King Charles, and that for the King's Birth and Return, or, as it is now called, the Restoration of the Royal Family, were added. The book did not go to the press till some time after it was subscribed, the Act of Uniformity for enacting it into a law taking up a considerable time. On the 8th of March following, Mr. Sandcroft, Mr. Scattergood, and Mr. Dillingham, were appointed by the bishops supervisors of the press, when the book should be printed, as appears by an order of the Upper House of Convocation, bearing date that day."

* See KENNETT'S *Ecclesiastical and Civil Register and Chronicle*, p. 632. Also, *Life of Bishop Sanderson*, p. 43.

† The following is an extract from one of the MSS. in the Lambeth library, (V. 577,) written with Archbishop Sancroft's hand, giving an account of the individuals employed in the alterations now made in the Liturgy, taken from the journals of the Lower House of Convocation. As those journals no longer exist, having been destroyed by fire, perhaps this is the only record remaining of the persons who were employed in the work.

"Out of the Journal of the Lower House of Convocation.

"FR. MUNDIE, Actuary.

"1661, May 16.—Chosen to attend the bishops at Elie House the next morning at eight o'clock, concerning a form of prayer for May 29th, the prolocutor and eight more, scilicet, the deans of Sarum (Dr. Baily), Chichester (Dr. Henshaw), Peterborough (Dr.

Rainbow), and Norwich (Dr. Crofts); the archdeacon of Surrey (Dr. Pearson), of Canterbury (Dr. George Hall), Dr. Creed, and Dr. Martin.

"May 18.—Chosen to attend the bishops for the review of the book for the 30th of January—the dean of Gloucester (Dr. Brough), of Lichfield (Dr. Paul); the archdeacon of St. Alban's (Dr. Frank); Dr. Crowther; the dean of Christchurch, Oxford (Dr. Fell); Dr. Fleetwood; Dr. Pory, archdeacon of Middlesex; Dr. Gunning.

"To attend the bishops at the Savoy, on Monday next, at three o'clock, afternoon, to consult about the form of baptizing the adult—the dean of Westminster (Dr. Earl), of Worcester (Dr. Oliver), archdeacon of Sudbury (Dr. Sparrow), archdeacon of Wilts (Dr. Creed), Dr. Heywood, Dr. Gunning.

"May 22.—*Precibus peractis*, ordered that each keep his place, that but one speak at once, and that without interruption; none to use long speeches; to have a constant verger.

"May 24.—A prayer or collect to be made for the parliament sitting, and one for the synod; referred to Dr. Pory and the archbishop's other chaplains to draw up, and present the same to this house the next session.

"May 31.—Dr. Pory *introduxit formam precatum pro parlamento et synodo*. The approbation of them referred to the dean of Wells (Dr. Creighton), Dr. Creed, Dr. Pearson, Dr. Crowther, and the archbishop's two chaplains.

"June 7.—A form of prayer, (*justa*

of the work was committed; and it seems that he was only privately employed, probably by the recommendation of Bishop Cosin, who bore a considerable share in this business, and in consequence of the confidence reposed in his talents, learning, and judgment.

However, it is specially recorded that he assisted in rectifying the calendar and the rubrics*, and that, after the work was completed, he was one of those appointed by an order of the Upper House of Convocation for the supervision of the press. In the common accounts of his life, it is stated that he was the author of the Forms of Prayer prepared for the 30th of January, and 29th of May. But this does not appear from any competent authority. Bishop Burnet gives a remarkable account of this matter; he states†, that when the new offices for the 30th of January and the 29th of May, were under preparation, Sancroft drew them up in too high a strain; that those which he produced, were in consequence rejected, and others of a more moderate character adopted in their room. He adds, that afterwards, when Sancroft was advanced to the see of Canterbury, he procured the substitution of his own offices in the place of those formerly adopted, and got them "published by the king's authority, at a

edictum Regium,) with humiliation for the immoderate rain, and thanksgiving for the change thereof by fair weather, referred to eight of this house (who are to attend four bishops at Elie-house this afternoon), scilicet, the dean of Winton (Dr. Alexander Hyde), the dean of Sarum (Dr. Bailie), the dean of Wells (Dr. Creighton), Dr. Priaulx, Dr. Gulston, Dr. Preston, Dr. Rawley."

Doubts have been entertained respecting the persons who framed the prayer for the Parliament, as it now stands in our Liturgy; but these doubts are cleared up by the above cited extracts from the Convocation books, which show that the prayer was prepared and introduced for the approbation of the Convocation by "Dr. Pory, (then archdeacon of Middlesex,) and the archbishop's other chaplains." The fact, however, is, that the prayer,

though now for the first time introduced into the Liturgy, was not entirely new. A prayer for the Parliament, with the same beginning and ending, and particularly containing the expression, "our religious and gracious king," was inserted in a form of prayers put forth in the time and under the authority of Charles I. on the first breaking out of the troubles in 1628; and from this the prayer, which now forms part of the Liturgy, was partly formed.

* See KENNETT's *Register*, p. 574, 632.—The person principally employed in rectifying the calendar, was Mr. Pell, a person of much various erudition, and a most acute mathematician, afterwards chaplain to Archbishop Sheldon.—See KENNETT, *ibid*.

† See BURNET's *Own Times*, in 1661.

time when so high a style as was in them did not sound well to the nation."

As Burnet himself had no concern in the transaction, and does not state the authority from which he derived his information, it is impossible to ascertain in what degree there is any foundation for his representation. Two circumstances, however, should be mentioned to show that his statements are not strictly accurate. The first is, that in the office for the 30th of January, no alteration of the slightest importance was made when Sancroft held the primacy, or has been made at any period subsequently to the first preparation of it; for it stands now, with very immaterial exceptions, precisely in the same form as it did at first. The second is, that the office for the 29th of May, as it was adopted with alterations after the death of Charles II., and during the primacy of Archbishop Sancroft, could not have been precisely that which he first proposed, but which was rejected. For the 29th of May being the day of King Charles the Second's birth, as well as of his return, the office during his life-time, was adapted to both these events. After his death, alterations were necessarily required, in order to make the office commemorative solely of the restoration of the royal family. It is true that some further alterations and substitutions took place at this time; and perhaps it may be allowed that mention is made, in the new office, of the rebellion, and those concerned in it, in stronger terms than had been done in the former office: and this is probably the foundation of Burnet's assertion, that an office was adopted "of a higher strain." These alterations were of course made under Archbishop Sancroft's authority, although the fact of their having been introduced by himself, rests only on the statement of Bishop Burnet*.

* In one of the prayers, in the present office for the Restoration of the Royal Family, is the following expression, which has been objected to from the studied alliteration: "Such workers of iniquity as turn religion into rebellion, and faith into faction." This expression, however, was not new, when first inserted in the Liturgy in Archbishop Sancroft's time, but was adopted

from a work called *The Rebels' Catechism*, published in 1643. The passage from which it is taken is as follows: "17. Quest. Is it not lawful to bear arms against sovereign princes for the preservation of religion? Answ. Yes, for those men who place religion in rebellion, and whose faith is faction."—See *The Rebels' Catechism*, composed in an easy and familiar way, to let them see

At an early period after the Restoration, Mr. Sancroft was distinguished in a very remarkable manner by continued marks of royal favour. We find him holding the situation of one of the king's chaplains, to which he was probably appointed some time in 1661; and we trace him in residence at Whitehall performing the duties of it in 1663*. He probably retained this situation till higher preferments called upon him to resign it. In 1662, he was recommended by royal mandate to the degree of doctor in divinity at Cambridge; the mandate† expressly reciting his loyalty and good affection during the late unhappy commotions, and adding that on account of his intending shortly to remove into remoter parts, he could not, without great inconvenience, pass through the usual forms.

It was his friend and patron, the Bishop of Durham, who tempted him to a residence in a remote part of the kingdom, by collating him to some valuable preferments in that diocese, viz., the rectory of Houghton-le-Spring, and a canonry in the cathedral

the heinousness of their offence, &c., 4to. p. 12. This Catechism is understood to have been composed by some of Charles's more eminent divines, among others, by Drs. Hammond and Gauden. It seems, then, that the quaint alliteration in this passage was not the production of Sancroft, but of some others who were concerned in writing *The Rebels' Catechism*. Notwithstanding the opinion of Bishop Burnet, others have judged that the offices for January 30, and May 29, were improved under Archbishop Sancroft. "The forms for the 30th of January and 29th of May were altered much for the better by Archbishop Sancroft, and some others, in James the Second's reign."—See *Case of a Rector refusing to preach a Visitation Sermon*, &c., by John Johnson, Vicar of Cranbrook. London, 1721.

* Two letters, preserved in the Harleian Collection, (MSS. 3784. 18, 164,) are addressed to him in attendance on his majesty, at his majesty's closet, at Whitehall, bearing date in Jan. 1663.

† The following is part of the king's letter on this occasion: "Whereas, William Sancroft, B.D., and one of our chaplains in ordinary, was, during the late unhappy and unnatural commotions, for his loyalty and good affection expressed all along unto us and our interests, ejected out of his fellowship of Emmanuel college in that our University, the local statutes of which college had otherwise obliged him long since to have taken the degree of D.D.; and whereas, besides the month of his ordinary attendance on our person, he hath, both before and after the same, been employed in our especial service, which he hath discharged to our satisfaction, and is now upon his necessary occasions to remove into the remoter parts of this our kingdom, so that he neither could, nor yet can, without great inconvenience, attend the usual forms and method of academical promotions: We do therefore recommend, &c."—It bears date March 15, 1661-2. See KENNETT's *Ecclesiastical Register*, p. 647.

church. He was instituted to the former, December 7, 1661; and installed in the latter, March 11, 1661-2*.

Houghton seems to have been on all accounts a most desirable benefice. Writing to his brother†, Mr. Sancroft speaks of it as "one of the best livings in that country, in the pleasantest and healthfullest part of the diocese." He adds, "the revenue is competent and fair; and there is nothing to be wished amended, but that it stands so far from the sun and my dearest relations."

Many of Bishop Cosin's letters, written to him about this period, happen to be preserved. The following extract‡ gives an interesting account of the bishop's first reception in his diocese:—

"Durham, August 22, 1661.

"I received yours of August 13, immediately after my solemn reception into the church, and singing the *Te Deum* there, wherein there was nothing wanting but your assistance. The confluence and alacrity both of the gentry, clergy, and other people, was very great; and at my first entrance through the river of Tease, there was scarce any water to be seen for the multitude of boats and men that filled it, when the sword that killed the dragon was delivered to me with all the formality of trumpets and gunshots and acclamations that might be made. I am not much affected with such shows: but, however, the cheerfulness of the country in the reception of their bishop is a good earnest given for better matters, which, by the grace and blessing of God, may in good time follow here among us all."

The two following letters from the same friend and patron, allude to an important part of Dr. Sancroft's private history, his attachment to a certain "gentlewoman," whose name is not mentioned, and with whom, as may be inferred from the terms of the letters, he appears to have entertained for a time some serious thoughts of engaging in a matrimonial contract. Nothing further is known respecting this affair; only the fact is certain, that, notwithstanding the strong recommendations of his patron, he

* See HUTCHINSON'S *History of* |
Durham.

† Tann. MSS. 49. 181.

‡ Harl. MSS. 3783. 187.

maintained to the last the resolution which, it appears, he had then taken, of continuing to live in a state of celibacy.

“Durham, August 23rd, 1661.

“Sir *,

“Your letter of August 20, came to me after the other of mine was gone to the post. I have but little time to add and say more, than that I shall be glad to welcome you into my diocese with a canonry of Durham and the rectory of Houghton, which, if Dr. Warwick and Mr. Triplet leave them, will be only in my donation. You may assure yourself and my Lord of London, that I will bestow the prebendary and the parsonage upon you, presupposing that you will continue my household chaplain at Aukland till you have made the prebendal house at Durham (which is much ruinated) fit for your better reception. I pray tell the gentlewoman, whom you name in the end of your letter, that I take her message and acknowledgment sent to me very kindly from her; of whom I have a very good opinion; and, if you have so too, I think you cannot choose a better companion and housekeeper, both at Houghton and Durham, than so virtuous a person, as she is, is like to make, if you would take his judgment, who is

“Your affectionate friend, &c.

“JOHN DUNELME.”

“Durham, September 3rd, 1661 †.

“That virtuous person, whom we have now twice mentioned, I think will make a good companion for you and your sister both. The great care and affection you have for her, and the just regard that she hath again of you, may in good time prevail with you to alter your resolution, which you formerly had, to live single; but do as you think fit to do, and as God shall incline your mind. In the meanwhile, I take not the difficulties which you mention to be invincible, either on her part, or much considerable on the part of them on whom you say she depends; and truly there cannot be a greater act of charity done for her, than to take her out of the danger, wherein she lives, and prevent her

* Harl. MSS. 3783. 182.

† Ibid.. 3783. 189.

falling into the fire. But I am not to press you further than your own inclination in a matter of this nature. I am glad you will be with me about Michaelmas, and then we may discourse more of it if you please."

His residence in the county of Durham did not continue for more than a few months; yet, during that period, he gave proof of his diligence and of his inquiring turn of mind, in making considerable researches and collections respecting the antiquities of the county. Of the notes which he left relative to this subject, use has been subsequently made in framing a history of Durham*.

But he was soon after summoned back to the bosom of that Alma Mater from which he had been violently expelled about eleven years before. A vacancy having occurred in the mastership of his own college, Emmanuel, he was elected by the fellows, on the 14th of August, 1662, to fill that situation. His election to this distinguished situation must have been owing entirely to the high estimation in which his character was held; for, as he states himself, "it was quite unexpected, and he knew nobody in the college, his acquaintance being quite worn out." His friends, indeed, seem, some time before, to have looked forward with hope to such an event: a letter is extant, addressed to him from Thomas Smith at Christ's College, dated November 2, 1660, in which he gives the following remarkable account of the state of the college, showing that great divisions of opinion prevailed there, and that the puritanical party were very powerful: "In your college half the society are for the Liturgy and half against it, so it is read one week, and the Directory used another; but till the Directory be laid aside, I believe no surplices will be worn;" and then adds, "I wish to be so happy as to see you head of it†."

* See HUTCHINSON'S *History of Durham*, vol. ii. p. 206.

† The following letter, addressed to him from the Bishop of London, implies, that there existed some obstacles to his entering on the mastership of Emmanuel; but of what nature they were is wholly unknown.

"To the Rev. and my worthy Friend, Dr. Sancroft, Prebendary of the Church of Durham.

"*Durham, Sept. 20th, 1662.*

"Sir,—I am sorry there are such bars against your entering into Emmanuel College; we must remove them for you the best way we can, and you

The higher preferments which awaited him, and which flowed upon him in rapid succession, did not permit him to retain the mastership of the college longer than three years. No circumstances of note are recorded during the time that he filled this situation; only it is stated generally* that he governed the house with much prudence and affability. There happens, however, to be preserved a letter† which he wrote while master of the college to his former tutor, Mr. Ezekiel Wright, which is curious and valuable, as exhibiting his feelings respecting the existing state of that college and the university, and showing the strong interest he took in the promotion of learning and of sound principles of religion.

“ Emmanuel College, January 17th, 1663.

“ Reverend Sir, my ever honoured Tutor,

“ I beg your pardon that your very friendly and obliging letter hath lain so long in my hands unanswered. I was, when you wrote it, in Suffolk (where I had been but once these last seven years, and that above two years since), and found it about a week after at Cambridge, as I passed by towards London, whither many occasions called me. In the mean time I have read it oft with great contentment, and after all this long demur find it difficult to express, how much I value both the affection and the wisdom of it. In earnest, sir, I never pleased myself more in the relation I once had to you, nor had ever more need to be your pupil than now. Beyond all my expectation I am come back to the college, where I knew nobody at all, my acquaintance being wholly worn out; or rather, I am come into

ought not to decline this opportunity of doing that college and university service. I will set about it as soon as I can, and you shall receive an account of what is done from your affectionate friend,

“ WILL. LONDON.”

* LENEVE's *Lives of the Bishops*.

† See Cole's MSS. in the British Museum, 59. p. 275. Mr. Cole makes the following note. “ The following letters and papers were lent to me by

my esteemed friend, Dr. Farmer, Master of Emmanuel College, and Chancellor of Lichfield, 1781. The first is an original letter of Archbishop Sancroft, to Mr. Ezekiel Wright, father to Sir Nathaniel Wright, Lord Keeper of the Seals. It is in the Archbishop's small black writing, and had a seal of red-wax, which is torn off. Directed ‘ For the Rev. my honoured friend Mr. Ezekiel Wright, B. D. and rector of Thurcaston, in Leicestershire.’ ”

a new college, quite another thing from what I, and much more what you, left it. It is true, in some regards the change is such that I cannot but thank God for it: there being neither faction amongst us, nor disaffection to the government of Church or State, but a general outward conformity to what is established by law, and, I hope, true principles of duty and obedience deep laid within, and a chearful readiness to take off all the instances of that former singularity which rendered us heretofore so unhappily remarkable*.

“It is with regret and reluctance that I turn my eye upon our defects and our infelicities; and I had rather make them the matter of a free conference, than bring them upon paper; yet into your bosom, sir, I shall, I hope, have leave to pour them, and assure myself that, as few will apprehend them as well as you, none is able to advise more apt and proper remedies.

“I complain not that the throng is not so great about us as it was (especially reflecting what it was that drew the many hither). —Blessed is the barren and the miscarrying womb, rather than she that is always teeming and drawing forth her breasts to the children of disobedience. May we be desert and wilderness all over, rather than send forth such unhappy swarms and colonies as we did in this age of sorrow; which were so many and so numerous that the stock is decayed at home, and we have none in the college capable of succeeding to our vacant fellowships. By the end of this week I shall have elected, since I returned hither, seven fellows, but most of them from abroad; so that half the society are foreigners; and yet worse, the eminent elsewhere will not be wooed to look towards us, having fairer invitations at home: they come sooner by two years (in standing, and many years in age) to their fellowships, than we; and without that rigid examen, which frights some from us: they keep them longer (being perpetuities) than we ours, which are thought to be but for a term; and which is most considerable, ours, while they have them, are not so well worth the owning; the statutable allowance being so miserably scant, that if the crowd fail us, (as now it doth,) you

* Emmanuel College seems to have been long noted for the puritanical principles which had prevailed there.

See Dr. SALTER's *Preface to Whicote's Aphorisms*.

know very well, sir, they afford not a competent subsistence: so that we are glad to accept of such as tender themselves; and forced to serve ourselves of His Majesty's grace and favour, for the removing of some lesser incapacities (of age and country) in a person otherwise fitly qualified in the main; and glad to be so eased, where our over rigorous statutes pinch us. And then for scholarships, they are so many, and so few to fill them, that there is never any competition; the golden spur of emulation is lost, and few will study hard to obtain that to which a little proportion of learning will bring them.

"It would grieve you to hear of our public examinations; the Hebrew and Greek learning being out of fashion everywhere, and especially in the other colleges, where we are forced to seek our candidates for fellowships; and the rational learning they pretend to being neither the old philosophy, nor steadily any one of the new. In fine, though I must do the present society right, and say, that divers of them are very good scholars, and orthodox (I believe) and dutiful both to king and Church; yet methinks I find not that old genius and spirit of learning generally in the college that made it once so deservedly famous; nor shall I hope to retrieve it any way sooner, than by your directions who lived here in the most flourishing times of it.

"For my part, after many sad thoughts spent in this argument, I am come to a persuasion, (which I shall in confidence acquaint you with, it not being fit for every ear,) that it is impossible for this college ever to flourish again (unless by the old arts, and so I had rather see it sink to the ground), till the fellowships and scholarships be made competent and liberal allowances, either by increase of our revenue, or by sinking of some of our number into the rest; and (*ut adhuc majora canamus*) till the body of our statutes be changed, which, if it may not be done, I see not but we are remediless: yet these are the last refuges, and we will not be wanting to ourselves in attempting all other methods.

"I am clearly convinced of what you wisely and solidly suggest concerning the pretended statute (for truly I cannot look upon it, as of the same authority with the rest) *de morâ sociorum*. Something I had done in it before you wrote. The king's suspension of that statute is, for aught I can learn, lost during these

last times ; you will easily guess how ; but I have recovered both the first draught of it under my Lord of Ely's own hand, (whom the king appointed to pen it,) and a copy of it which I found amongst my uncle Dr. Sancroft's papers, and have preserved ever since. If I cannot inquire out the original, I will, if I live, get it to pass the seal once more ; to facilitate which, I desire, sir, you would furnish me with your copy, if you have one, and with what memoirs you have besides concerning that whole affair.

" I am now in pursuit of Dr. Holdsworth's numerous library ; and though the University has long since swallowed it in a general expectation, yet, having lately got a sight of his private directions to his executors, and consulted both lawyers and several of my lords the bishops, and the executors themselves thereupon, I doubt not at all the right will prove to be ours : provided that we erect a case or room fit to receive them ; the condition upon which he gave them us. For the performance whereof, and also for the removing that great mark of singularity, which all the world so talks of, in the unusual prospect and dress of the chapel, (different from that of other colleges,) I have it in design to make both a new library and chapel too ; and, as for the manner of contriving both, I would gladly receive your particular opinion ; so I must be forced to beg the charitable and liberal assistance of all that have been members of it, and yours, sir, especially, who wert once so great an ornament and now so true a lover of it.

" I am going very suddenly into the north when this election is past, and shall not return thence till Michaelmas ; but, either going or coming, I will endeavour to wait on you at your own house ; and judge by what I have written, how I shall importune and tire you with my discourse concerning Emmanuel College. But, sir, a goodness like yours will pardon both, and incline you to continue the benefit of your prayers, as to the whole college, so particularly to him, who will always rejoice to write himself,

" Reverend sir,

" Your most observant pupil,

" And very humble servant,

" W. SANCROFT."

The shortness of the period, during which Dr. Sancroft held the mastership of Emmanuel College, precluded him from carrying into effect any advantageous plans of improvement. He prepared, however, the design of a new chapel, which was afterwards completed under his successors; and he gave proof of his munificence, as well as of his good will to the college, by contributing nearly 600*l.* for the erection*.

On the 3rd of January, 1663-4†, he was nominated by the king to the deanery of York; and having been elected by the chapter on the 23rd of that month, he was installed by proxy on the 26th of the following February. He retained this situation only for the short space of ten months, and appears to have found it no lucrative preferment‡; for it is stated that he expended, in building and other charges, 200*l.* more than he received. He was enabled, however, during the short period he held this preferment, to render considerable service§ to the cathedral church; for, having found the accounts in a state of confusion, he brought them into order, and made out a correct rental.

Towards the close of the same year, 1664, the deanery of St. Paul's fell vacant by the death of Dr. Barwick, and the king evinced his further favour to Dr. Sancroft by conferring on him that more lucrative preferment. He was elected to it on the 10th of November, and installed on the 10th of the following month. About the same time he was appointed to the prebend of Oxgate in the same cathedral, and elected a residentiary, having been installed in that situation the day preceding his installation in the deanery.

A stronger proof can scarcely be afforded of the general estimation in which his character was held, than by the fact of so many preferments flowing upon him, in this short space of time, from so many various quarters. It appears that Sheldon, arch-

* See Registers of the College.

† Wharton's MSS. from the Archbishop's notes.

‡ G. Davenport, in a letter addressed to him April 9, 1664, says—"You give a sad account of your deanery: I never thought it better; make much of Durham."—In another, the same corre-

spondent says, "You are about to pay the York first fruits; another man would let the deanery be sequestered for them. It was an unfortunate deanery for you."—Harl. MSS. 3783. 137, 141.

§ LENEVE's *Lives of the Bishops*.

bishop of Canterbury, and Henschman, bishop of London, were warmly interested in his success in life, and used their interest with the crown in assisting his advancement*. Between the latter of these, and Dr. Sancroft, considerable intimacy appears to have subsisted.

On the occasion of his appointment to the deanery of St. Paul's, we find him writing to his brother in the following terms†.

"London, December 5, 1664.

"It is a very royal bounty of his Majesty (whose hands I kissed yesterday, and thanked him for this last favour) to bestow two such deaneries as York and St. Paul's upon me in the compass of a few months, which I will study to deserve by the best service I can do. I was almost settled at York, having furnished my house in great part, and spent one hundred pounds in the repairs of it, and might have justly hoped by Midsummer, with the expense of as much money more, to have made such a dwelling of it, as I am never like to be owner of again. I had also much encouragement from the good affections of the city, which here it will be much harder to gain, there being such diversity of humours, and those so nice too, among them. The revenue indeed is here something better, but the expense more and the burthen of business very great; I trust God will enable me to go through with it. I am a loser by the deanery of York, and it will be some time (if ever) ere I can be a gainer by this,

* The two following letters, written by the Bishop of London to Dr. Sancroft, at the time of his promotion to the deanery of St. Paul's, happen to be preserved in the Harleian Collection. See v. 378. 107, 109.

"October 22nd.

"This day the Dean of St. Paul's deceased; to-morrow I attend at Whitehall in hope to obtain that you may succeed. Do not think of relinquishing anything but your deanery, until you receive directions from my Lord of Canterbury. God preserve you.

"Your most affectionate friend,

"HUMFR. LONDON."

"London House, Oct. 25th.

"In my last I gave you notice, that the Dean of St. Paul's deceased on Saturday last; now I tell you that his Majesty has most graciously appointed you to succeed him in this church. My Lord of Canterbury adviseth you to hasten thither as soon as your occasions will permit, and I desire the same."

There exist in the Harleian Collection above forty letters from this Bishop of London to Dr. Sancroft.

† Tann. MSS. 47. 377.

here being a house to be bought, built, and furnished, first fruits and subsidies, and new charges, I fear, coming. Only one comfort is, that now I shall sit down, and may justly be confident that my next remove will be to the grave."

In addition to these London preferments, he appears to have retained for some time his prebendal stall at Durham*. He resigned the mastership of Emmanuel College a few months after his appointment to the deanery of St. Paul's†, probably from finding that the various duties which now devolved upon him prevented his devoting as much time and attention as he desired to those of his academical station.

If, in succeeding to the deanery of St. Paul's, Dr. Sancroft came to a well endowed preferment, he came to the superintendence of an edifice which had miserably fallen into decay. The very ancient cathedral church of the metropolis had long been extremely ruinous, and, during the barbarous transactions of the civil wars and the republican times, if it was not purposely damaged‡, yet nothing was done to preserve it from the injuries of the weather; and, in consequence, it suffered that increase of dilapidation which the mere neglect of proper repairs always

* This is seen from a letter (Harl. MSS. 3783. 55,) dated January 11th, 1664, addressed to him as Dean of St. Paul's, and Prebendary of Durham, at Durham.

† The following is a part of a letter (Harl. MSS. 3783. 8,) written to Dr. Sancroft by Robert Alfounder, apparently a fellow of Emmanuel College, dated Trinity evening, 1665.

"Sir,

"On Thursday last I came to Cambridge, where I met with your unexpected and (with your pardon) unwelcome resignation: but there was not any interregnum,—for at the same time we received and obeyed his Majesty's commands for a successor. Sir, we are all, I think, very well satisfied with the royal choice for us, and dare not expect anything but good from it.

This, I think, was the only way to preserve unity among us, and to satisfy ourselves and other of our friends abroad. It is easier to obey than to chuse."

Dr. Sancroft was succeeded in the mastership of Emmanuel College by Dr. Breton.

‡ The cathedral church was undergoing repairs, when, in 1643, the revenues belonging to the dean and chapter were seized by the parliament, together with the materials and money prepared for the repairs. It was afterwards used as a barrack and horse-quarter for soldiers; and the scaffolding in the interior being taken away for their accommodation, part of the roof fell in at different times.—See Dugdale's *History of St. Paul's*, p. 146-7.

entails on ancient buildings. Accordingly, the new dean immediately set himself to husband the resources of the church with the most prudent economy, with a view to the substantial reparation or restoration of the edifice.

But the heavy calamities which befell the metropolis very soon after the commencement of Dr. Sancroft's public duties as dean of the metropolitan church, first interrupted the prosecution of his designs, and afterwards directed them in a new course. The great plague, as it is termed, broke out in London in May, 1665, about five months after he had taken possession of the deanery; and the danger of fatal infection was so pressing, that all who had the means of removing into other parts, availed themselves of them with as little delay as possible. Dr. Sancroft, as appears from the superscription of letters addressed to him*, fixed his residence during a part of the time of danger, at Tunbridge Wells†; and in September in that year, he writes from Fressingfield, and speaks in allusion to the danger of infection, and of the dangers which he had escaped‡. In the year succeeding the plague, the great fire of London broke out, which destroyed the greater part of the city.

Mr. Evelyn relates, in his Diary §, that on the 27th of August,

* See several letters in Harleian MSS. 3783.

† The following is part of a letter directed to him at Tunbridge Wells, from Peter Barwick, brother of the late dean, who appears to have been a medical man. The imputation of a want of charity towards his distressed neighbours, to which it alludes, as having been cast by some persons on Dr. Sancroft, is one which, as the whole course of his life shows, must have been very undeserved. It is dated August 5th, 1665.

"MR. DEAN,

"Give me leave to discharge the part of a friend, and to tell you what I hear, though perhaps of no great moment. It will be no news to tell you (for you will surely imagine it) that the mouths of a slanderous generation

are wide enough open against those that are withdrawn, both of your profession and ours; but one of my neighbours told me, (who I think indeed wishes well both to you and to your church,) that it was wondered that you should go, and not leave anything that they had heard of, behind you for your poor neighbours. I told him that, in what cases it was lawful to go, was not in the skill of any one to determine; but, as for your going to the Wells, you had resolved it, and by my advice, long before any plague was heard of; and, as for your charity to the poor, I knew that you had given a considerable sum to a parish."—See Harleian MSS. 3783. 19.

‡ Harl. MSS. Letter to G. Davenport.

§ Vol. i. p. 371.

1666, he went with Dr. Wren, the Bishop of London, the Dean of St. Paul's, and others, to survey the general decay of the cathedral church; that, among other things, they determined that it was necessary to take down the existing steeple; and they had a mind to build in its place a noble cupola,—“a form of church-building not as yet known in England, but of wonderful grace, for which purpose they had formed a plan and estimate; but on the 3rd of September following, the fire broke out, which levelled the whole with the ground.” The latter part, indeed, was not true in strictness; for a part of the structure was left standing, although the whole was so miserably damaged and shattered by the fire, that the roof fell in with great force, and broke through the vaults below.

This extensive calamity, following so soon upon the great plague, filled the whole nation with grief and consternation. It was felt as an appalling judgment on the nation, specially sent by God to visit the sins of the people; and the 10th of October following was appointed as a day of public humiliation, for the purpose of imploring His mercy, and averting, by national prostration, His further displeasure. Dr. Sancroft, who was so immediately connected with the scenes of both these disasters, was, with peculiar propriety, appointed to preach before the king on the occasion. He performed this office with great ability, and to the satisfaction of the king, who commanded that the sermon should be printed.

The sermon is entitled *Læx Ignea*, or, *The School of Righteousness*. Notwithstanding the learning and ability which it displays, it abounds in language which will be deemed at the present day too scholastic. But the following passage, bearing peculiar allusion to the calamity which was the subject of mournful commemoration, deserves to be quoted for its eloquence.

“Fire is the tyrant in nature, the king of the elements, the mighty Nimrod in the material world. God has given us this active creature for our servant, and we degrade him to the meanest offices, to the drudgery of the kitchen, and the labour of the furnace. But God can enfranchise him when He pleases, and let him loose upon us; and, for our sins, of an useful servant, make him to us a vigorous and tyrannical master. You saw him the

other day, when he escaped from all your restraints, mocked all your resistance, scorned all the limits you have set him. Winged with our guilt, he flew triumphant over the proudest heights, waving his curled head, seeming to repeat to us the lesson which holy St. Austin taught us long since, that the inferior creatures serve us men, only that we may serve Him who made both us and them too. If we rebel against heaven, says the wise man, the world will rise in arms upon us, and fight with Him against the unwise. Even the holy fires of the altar too, though kindled from heaven on purpose to propitiate an angry Deity, proved often, through men's provocations, the instruments of His fury; the mercy-seat became the arsenal of vengeance, and from the presence of God himself went forth those flames which devoured His adversaries. And all to teach us this lesson, that it is sin which puts thunder into God's hand, and turns flames of love into a consuming fire."

From repairing an old and decayed church, Dr. Sancroft's attention and exertions were now to be directed to the more important design of erecting a new one; and it seems to have been owing at least as much to him as to ~~any~~ single individual, that the plan was ultimately adopted of erecting a proud and noble structure worthy of that metropolis, of which it has ever since been the most distinguished ornament, under an architect, Sir Christopher Wren, who did honour to the age and country in which he lived.

At first, indeed, owing probably to the poverty of the nation under the recent calamity, it was designed to fit up a part of the ruined church for divine service, as a temporary expedient, till means could be found of either making a thorough reparation of the whole, or of erecting a new building *. This design was proceeded on for nearly two years. It was found, on inspection, that the part of the church near the west end could with least expense be made serviceable for the intended purpose. Accordingly, workmen were employed in clearing away the rubbish, taking down the remainder of the vaulted roof and walls, digging up the floors, and in other works of this description: they afterwards began to case the great and massy pillars which stood between

* See WREN'S *Parentalia*.

the middle and side aisles ; but they had not proceeded far before they found that these pillars, together with the walls that remained, were so weak and unsound, in consequence of the fire, as to be utterly incapable of any substantial repair. The following letter from the Dean Sancroft to Dr. afterwards Sir Christopher Wren, gives an account of the unsuccessful result of this first attempt.

“ TO MY WORTHY FRIEND, DR. CHRISTOPHER WREN, PROFESSOR
OF ASTRONOMY IN OXFORD.

“ April 25, 1668.

“ Sir,

“ As he said of old, *Prudentia est quædam divinatio*, so science (at the height you are master of it) is prophetic too. What you whispered in my ear at your last coming hither, is now come to pass. Our work at the west end of St. Paul's is fallen about our ears. Your quick eye discerned the walls and pillars gone off from their perpendiculars, and I believe other defects too, which are now exposed to every common observer.

“ About a week since, we being at work about the third pillar from the west end on the south side, which we had new cased with stone, where it was most defective, almost up to the chapitre, a great weight falling from the high wall so disabled the vaulting of the side-aisle by it, that it threatened a sudden ruin, so visibly, that the workmen presently removed, and the next night the whole pillar fell, and carried scaffolds and all to the ground.

“ The second pillar (which you know is bigger than the rest) stands now alone, with an enormous weight on the top of it ; which we cannot hope should stand long, and yet we dare not venture to take it down.

“ This breach has discovered to all that look on it, two great defects in Inigo Jones's work ; one, that his new case of stone in the upper walls (massy as it is) was not set upon the upright of the pillars, but upon the core of the groins of the vaulting ; the other, that there were no key-stones at all to tie it to the old work ; and, all this being very heavy with the Roman ornaments on the top of it, and being already so far gone outwards, cannot possibly stand long. In fine, it is the opinion of all men, that we

can proceed no further at the west end. What we are to do next, is the present deliberation, in which you are so absolutely and indispensably necessary to us, that we can do nothing, resolve on nothing, without you.

"It is, therefore, that, in my Lord of Canterbury's name, and by his order, (already, I suppose, intimated to you by the Dean of Christ Church,) we most earnestly desire your presence and assistance with all possible speed.

"You will think fit, I know, to bring with you those excellent draughts and designs you formerly favoured us with; and, in the mean time, till we enjoy you here, consider what to advise that may be for the satisfaction of his Majesty and the whole nation, an obligation so great and so public, that it must be acknowledged by better hands than those of

"Your affectionate friend and servant,

"W. SANCROFT."

The design of repairing the old structure was now necessarily abandoned; and the attention of those concerned was exclusively directed to the best method of preparing an entirely new erection, on a scale of suitable grandeur. The following letter of Dean Sancroft, addressed to Dr. Wren, and containing a further invitation to him, to meet the dignitaries of the Church, for the purpose of consulting on the subject, conveys their very judicious determination, to fix at once on a design of magnificence such as became the metropolis of the British empire, in the confidence that funds would sooner or later be obtained, for carrying it into effect, rather than to consider, in the first instance, what money they could afford, and to proportion to it the scale on which they should proceed.

"To DR. WREN, AT OXFORD.

"*Dated London, July 2, 1668.*

"Sir,

"Yesterday, my Lords of Canterbury, London, and Oxford, met on purpose to hear your letter read once more, and to consider what is now to be done, in order to the repairs of

St. Paul's. They unanimously resolved, that it is fit immediately to attempt something, and that without you they can do nothing. I am therefore commanded to give you an invitation hither, in his Grace's name, and the rest of the commissioners, with all speed, that we may prepare something to be proposed to his Majesty, (the design of such a choir at least, as may be a congruous part of a greater and more magnificent work to follow,) and then for the procuring contributions to defray this, we are so sanguine as not to doubt of it, if we could but once resolve what we would do, and what that would cost. So that the only part of your letter we demur to, is the method you propound, of declaring first what money we would bestow, and then designing something just of that expense; for quite otherwise—the way their lordships resolve upon, is to frame a design, handsome and noble, and suitable to all the ends of it, and to the reputation of the city and the nation; and to take it for granted that money will be had to accomplish it; or, however, to let it lie by, till we have before us a prospect of so much as may reasonably encourage us to begin.

“Thus far I thought good to prepare you for what will be said to you when you come, that you may not be surprised with it; and, if my summons prevail not, my lord, the bishop of Oxford, hath undertaken to give it you warmer, *ore tenus*, the next week, when he intends to be with you, if at least you be not come towards us before he arrives; which would be a very agreeable surprise to us all, and especially to

“Your very affectionate humble servant,

“W. SANCROFT.”

The result of the consultations on the subject, was the determination to accept Sir Christopher Wren's noble design of building the church on the present scale of magnificence. The funds for the purpose, were provided partly by private subscription, and partly by an act of parliament, called the Coal Act, which prescribed that a certain sum for the purpose should be levied on every chaldron of coals brought to the port of London. In the private subscription Dr. Sancroft bore a distinguished part; for he

personally contributed no less than 1400*l.**, in addition to the part which he bore in the liberal contributions from the general funds belonging to the dean and chapter. And it is related that it was principally owing to his exertions and management, that the Coal Act was carried through the legislature.

The first stone of the new cathedral was laid in 1675†, under the superintendence of Dr. Sancroft as dean. He was not permitted, it is true, to enjoy the singular good fortune in which both the architect, Sir Christopher Wren, and Dr. Compton, bishop of the diocese, partook; that of witnessing the progress of the structure, from its commencement to its final completion in 1710. But still, he had the gratification of seeing it rise to a considerable stage of advancement; for it is related‡, that so early as the year 1685, ten years after its commencement, the edifice was in very forward state; the walls of the choir and side aisles were at that time finished, together with the circular north and south porticoes; and the great pillars of the dome were carried to the same height.

But the dean's attention and exertions were not confined to the cathedral church. The deanery-house had suffered by the wide-spreading calamity, and he had to consider the means of rebuilding it without burdening himself personally, with too heavy a charge. With this view§, he procured an act of parliament, which enabled him, with the consent of the Lord Keeper and the Bishop of London, to lease out a portion of the ground connected with the site, on which shops and other tenements had formerly stood, for the term of sixty years, on the condition that, before September 30, 1673, he should lay out the sum of 2,500*l.* in building a commodious deanery-house and premises, himself and his heirs being thereby discharged from dilapidations. In pursuance of this act, he entered into a bond to build at the above-mentioned cost; and he was released from the bond, as having completed the work, Dec. 20, 1670.

In the year 1668, he was appointed to another ecclesiastical

* He appears to have subscribed 100*l.* annually, after he was Archbishop of Canterbury, in addition to his contributions when he was Dean of St. Paul's.—*DUGDALE'S Hist. of St. Paul's.*

† WREN'S *Parentalia*, p. 292.]

‡ Ibid.

§ See the Register of the Dean of St. Paul's.

dignity, the archdeaconry of Canterbury, on the presentation of the crown; but he retained it only two years. He was probably induced to resign it, by finding that he was precluded, by the other demands on his time, from properly attending to its duties.

While Dr. Sancroft occupied the deanery of St. Paul's, he diligently employed himself, in addition to the diligent attention which he paid to his immediate duties, in carrying into effect many things which he deemed to be conducive to the interests of the Church and of religion in general. In one instance, he had an opportunity, about this period, of fulfilling the desire, which he always felt, of augmenting the revenues of the poorer benefices; an object, which he kept steadily in his view in his subsequent elevation to the primacy, and which he was then enabled to prosecute with greater effect. The instance alluded to, is the vicarage of Sandon, in Hertfordshire, of which he was the patron, the inappropriate tithes forming part of the revenues of his deanery. For the purpose of augmenting this vicarage, he purchased a fee farm rent issuing out of the church of Lichfield, and settled it on the vicar; he further granted out of the inappropriate tithes, a rent charge of 20*l.* per annum, in augmentation of the vicarage, for ever*.

Another object, beneficial to the Church, which he effected while Dean of St. Paul's, was the erection of the hamlet of St. Paul's, Shadwell, into a separate rectory. The property of this parish was vested in him as dean; it formed part of the parish of Stepney; but of late, the population, both in this hamlet and in the other parts of the parish of Stepney, had increased to such an extent, that the parish church was totally insufficient for the inhabitants. In consequence, principally through the interest and exertions of the dean, an Act of Parliament was procured in the year 1670, which made it a separate parish; the church, which had been built some time before, was made the parish church, and an endowment was appointed for the minister. The dean gave up a piece of his estate for the church-yard, the rectorial house, and other tenements, which were built by him or his lessee†.

* See CHAUNCEY'S *History of Hertfordshire*, &c.

† NEWCOURT'S *History of the Diocese of London*, v. i. 708.

It does not appear that Dr. Sancroft was engaged in any literary work, during his occupation of the deanery of St. Paul's, except, indeed, one on which he was employed by Archbishop Sheldon, but in which very little progress was made at the time. Archbishop Sheldon had procured* from the possession of Prynne the papers of Archbishop Laud, and particularly a copy of his Diary, which had been seized as part of the plunder from his house at the time of his imprisonment, and was afterwards lost sight of. Thinking that they were of a sufficiently interesting nature to engage the attention of the public, he consigned them to Dr. Sancroft, expressing the wish that he would undertake the care of publishing them with all convenient speed. Dr. Sancroft, on examination of the copy of the Diary, found it so full of inaccuracies that he deemed it unfit for publication, and thought it advisable to wait till the original might be found. After some considerable search, it was discovered lurking in St. John's College, at Oxford. A further delay of the publication took place from a difference of opinion respecting the language in which the Diary should be published. Laud had expressed a wish that it should be published in Latin; and Archbishop Sheldon's opinion was, that this wish ought to be complied with; but the dean thought that the Diary would be more useful if published in English; however, he properly yielded to the authority of the metropolitan, and a civilian was procured to translate the law terms into Latin. In this stage of the business, Archbishop Sheldon died; and Dr. Sancroft succeeding to his high situation became so involved in public business, as to have no leisure for proceeding with the undertaking. It will afterwards appear, that he did not resume the work till some time after his retirement from the archbishopric: that the illness which terminated his life surprised him in the midst of it; and that, on his death-bed, he consigned the papers to the care of his chaplain, Mr. Wharton, who soon afterwards prepared them for the press.

It was towards the close of the year 1677, on the decease of Archbishop Sheldon, that Dr. Sancroft was, very unexpectedly, to himself and to the public, raised to the archiepiscopal chair of Canterbury. He was holding, at the time of his

* See WHARTON'S *Preface to Archbishop Laud's Diary*.

elevation, the situation of prolocutor of the Lower House of Convocation.

It is the most probable supposition that he owed his exaltation in no great degree, to private favour or recommendations, but principally, or entirely, to the high character which he bore with the nation at large and with the Church, which pointed him out as the person best qualified to adorn the station, and to support its dignity. It is stated, and probably with truth, in a narrative of his life*, that his zeal, candour and learning, his exemplary behaviour in a lower state, his public spirit in so many scenes of life, his constancy in suffering, his unbiassed deportment, all concurred to recommend him as a fit governor of the Church in that turbulent age.

Bishop Burnet, who catches most eagerly at every opportunity of lowering the character of Sancroft, insinuates that he was elevated to the primacy, not on account of his fitness for the station, but of his want of proper qualifications for it. His words are†, that several things “made the court conclude that he was a man who might be entirely gained to serve their ends; or, at least, that he would be an inactive speculative man, and give little opposition to anything they might attempt.” His meaning manifestly is, that those who promoted his elevation intended, by so doing, to place, for their own sinister purposes, a feeble person at the helm of the Church.

Anthony Wood‡ affirms distinctly, but without alleging any authority, that Dr. Sancroft’s pretensions were favoured by the Duke of York, and the Popish party; and assigns as the motive of their conduct, the desire of excluding Compton, bishop of London, who was much spoken of for the situation, and who was very obnoxious to them. In matters of this nature it is seldom possible to attain to a correct knowledge of the truth: for it rarely happens that recommendations which are made in the interior of a royal closet, are disclosed truly to the public. If, however, it be a fact that the Duke of York was instrumental in

* See *Lives of English Bishops*, by NATHANIEL SALMON,—p. 60.

† See BURNET’S *Own Times*, v. i.

‡ See *Life of A. Wood*, written by himself. Dr. Kennett, it should be

mentioned, also states that the appointment was made by the recommendation of the Duke of York.—See KENNETT’S *History*, v. iii. 361.

promoting Dr. Sancroft's elevation, it is far more probable that he did so, from a preference of him to Bishop Compton, than from so grossly misapprehending his character as to suppose that he would make a weak and inefficient head of the Church. Certain it is, that if the Duke of York, or persons of any party, did recommend him to the primacy under the idea that the interests of the Church, in being confided to him, were committed to feeble hands, the event showed that they completely erred both in the estimate they formed of his character, and in the policy which they intended to advance. For it was afterwards sufficiently proved, that the government of the Church could not have been entrusted to one more firm and temperate in the exercise of his authority, more watchful over its general interests, or more intrepid in the defence of its just rights and privileges at the hour of peril*.

His consecration took place in Westminster Abbey, on Sunday, January 27th, 1677-78.

The following is the public letter of congratulation addressed to Archbishop Sancroft, on his elevation to the primacy, from the University of Cambridge. The letters on such occasions are usually written by the public orator; and, as the person at this time filling that situation happened to be the archbishop's intimate friend, and former pupil, Dr. H. Paman, the feelings of private affection may probably have given warmth to the language of panegyric dictated by public duty.

"REVERENDISSIMO IN CHRISTO PATRI AC DOMINO, GUL. ARCHIEP.
CANTUAR†.

"Liceat saltem academix Cantabrigiensi, reverendissime antistes, in summo tuo honore lætari simul et superbire; quem tu tamen, nisi majorem in obsequio quam imperio ponerēs gloriam,

* In DRYDEN's *Absalom* and *Achitophel*, Sancroft is introduced under the name of Zadoc, in the following couplet, which describes, probably with great truth, the absence from his mind of all ambition for exaltation and pre-eminence.

"Zadoc the priest, whom, shunning
power and place,
His lowly mind advanced to David's
grace."

† See Appendix to WARD's *Lives of the Gresham Professors*, p. 138.

perlinaci animo penitus recusasses. Non enim more solenni et ritu consueto solum, sed bona fide, nolebas episcopari. Tibi certum erat in unius ecclesiæ Paulinæ ruinis abditissimè delitescere, illas quam temet ipsum illustrare paratiori. Malebas scilicet privatus omnino latere, sed eximia tua te prodidit virtus; tam præclara et ad ecclesiæ gloriam nata lux, latebris concludi, aut occultari nescia, non nisi in summo collocari meruit. Tam repentinus autem in summum ascensus non aliter se habet, quam cum sol uno statim ictu se omnibus aperiatur, et lucem momento latissimè diffundat. Nullâ arte celari potest decens illa gravitas, obvia ubique humanitas, spectata in rebus agendis prudentia, comitas incredibilis, quæ vel in infimo laudem meretur, varia et perfecta eruditio, quæ vel in alio quovis comitem haberet superbiam, primæva denique vitæ sanctimonia, quæ vel sine mitrâ et pedo episcopum indicaret. Rex autem serenissimus, meritorum explorator prudentissimus, cum quærendus esset qui Deum in terris innocentiam et sanctitatem maxime referret, ejusque in ecclesiâ suppleret vices, ipsum solum in consilium assumpsit, et te tandem imperatoriæ majestate, quâ uti necesse erat, non tam elegit episcopum, quam coegit renitentem. Diutina sapientissimi principis deliberatio eo solum tendebat, ut firmior constaret muneri ratio, et diligentiori facto scrutinio tandem liqueret, non alium digniorem inveniri, in quo summa rerum ecclesiasticarum potestas resideret. Cum igitur tardo pede in summum hoc conscenderis fastigium, tardiore exeat, ut ecclesia, sub felici tuo imperio, feliciore præsidio et gloriâ diutissimè fruatur. Ita animitus precantur, Gloriæ tuæ studiosissimi, Procancellarius reliquosque Senatus Academiæ Cantabrigiæ.

*Dat. & frequenti Sen.
5 Id. Jan. 1677.*

CHAPTER IV.

PERIOD OF HIS ARCHBISHOPRIC TILL THE DEATH OF
CHARLES II.

State of the Church and Kingdom at the Period of his Elevation to the Primacy—Address to James Duke of York to convert him from Popery—General Attention to the Duties of his Station—Regulations about granting Testimonials—Letter respecting the Augmentation of small Vicarages—Restoration of Archbishop Parker's Monument—Suspension of the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry—Letter to Dr. Covel, &c.—Attendance on Charles II. on his Death-bed.

AT the time when Archbishop Sancroft was appointed to the primacy of the Church of England, a station in which he afterwards acted so important and distinguished a part, the feelings of alarm in the nation at the growing ascendancy of the Roman Catholics, grounded on the suspected attachment of the reigning monarch to their cause, and on the prospect of a successor who was a bigoted member of that Church, were daily gaining strength. From the side of the Presbyterians and other Protestant Dissenters, little danger to the government and Church was at this time apprehended. Although by the Act of Uniformity, passed in the beginning of Charles's reign, more than 2000 ministers were ejected from their benefices, yet so generally unpopular were those sectaries, through whom such accumulated calamities had overwhelmed the kingdom, and so strong was the tide of opinion in favour of the episcopal form of Church government, that with regard to them the public mind was comparatively at rest. The king, indeed, felt the obligations under which he lay to the Presbyterian party, whose exertions were conspicuous in bringing about the Restoration; and, partly with a view to them, had twice, in 1662 and 1672, issued declarations of indulgence suspending all penal laws which applied to Dissenters. But it is a remarkable fact, and strongly indicative of the quarter to which the public fears were directed, especially on the latter of these two occasions, that the great objections made to the exercise of this dispensing power were founded, not on the relief

which it held out to Protestant Dissenters, but on the facility which it afforded to the Papists of acquiring an ascendancy*. If, however, the fears which prevailed in the public mind, during the lifetime of Charles, of his disposition to support the Roman Catholic, at the expense of the Protestant, interests, were founded rather on general presumption than on positive knowledge, the light which has subsequently been thrown on the circumstances of those times, has shown that those fears were justified to the fullest extent. It has since appeared from authentic documents, not only that he was a regular member of the Roman Catholic church, but also that, during the greater part of his reign, he was actually engaged in a systematic plan to establish that religion in this kingdom. It is now matter of recorded history, that, in 1670, a treaty was concluded between him and the King of France, in which the latter engaged to pay him a yearly stipend of 200,000*l.* for the purpose of assisting him in the enterprise of establishing Popery in England†.

Still, as this treaty was kept a profound secret, the hopes of the Popish party, and the apprehensions of the Protestants, were less founded on the suspected predilections of Charles, than on the known rooted disposition of his probable successor. Charles, a man of licentious habits, was supposed to have no very serious attachment to any religion; James, on the other hand, was known to be a bigoted religionist; one who deemed it matter of conscience and of duty to convert others to the faith which he himself professed; and who, it was justly presumed, as soon as he should possess the sovereign power, would spare no endeavours to bring back the nation to the bosom of the Romish church. Hence, as is well known, when the public fears were quickened by real or pretended plots of the Papists, and when the prospect of James's succession to the throne became nearer, attempts were

* The Protestant nonconformists themselves were jealous of this dispensing power, claimed in 1672, from the conviction that it was not exercised from any affection to them, but to serve the interests of Popery: and it was declared for them in parliament that they had sooner go without their

own desired liberty, than have it in a way so destructive of the liberties of the country, and of the Protestant interests. See NEALE'S *History of the Puritans*, vol. iv. 445. 455.

† See *Stuart Papers, Life of King James II.*, vol. i. p. 442.

made to exclude him from it by law, on the ground of his religion: but it is singular that, had the true state of things been then developed, the same reasons which were urged for the exclusion of James from the succession to the throne, would have applied with nearly equal force to the expulsion of Charles from the actual possession of it.

Archbishop Sancroft, at a very early period after his appointment to the primacy, engaged in a remarkable attempt to recover the Duke of York from the bosom of the Romish church. There seems no reason to doubt that the design originated principally, if not wholly, with himself; and that he communicated it to some of his brethren on the episcopal bench for their approbation and concurrence. He was probably induced to make this attempt from the anxious desire which he felt of averting the evils, religious and civil, which the duke's devoted attachment to the Romish faith was likely to entail upon the nation. We cannot suppose that, with the knowledge which he must have had of the duke's character, he formed any sanguine expectations of succeeding in his purpose; but he probably felt it matter of conscientious duty to try what he could effect in a matter, in which success would be attended with the most valuable and important consequences to the nation.

The archbishop communicated his design* to King Charles, who approved it, probably with the view of preserving fair appearances with the bishops and the public, and suggested that the venerable Dr. Morley, bishop of Winchester†, would be a proper person to be associated with him on the occasion.

* The archbishop, in the following letter to Morley, bishop of Winchester, uses an expression which might seem to imply that the design of endeavouring to convert the Duke of York originated with the king. He says, "I had a private intimation from my superior, that it is *his pleasure* some further attempt should be made, &c." But, probably, the expression means nothing more than that the king consented to his proceeding in his projected attempt. However, the matter is made

quite clear by the archbishop's reply to the Duke of York, given at p. 106 from the Stuart Papers, in which he says that the king knew of their intention, but the design *originated* with the bishops.

† George Morley, bishop of Winchester, was educated at Christchurch. In 1641, he was made chaplain to King Charles, and attended him during the wars, and also in the Isle of Wight. After the king's death he went into voluntary exile, officiated for Charles

In consequence, the archbishop wrote* to Bishop Morley in the following terms:—

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY TO THE BISHOP OF
WINCHESTER.

“ My good Lord,

“ *Lambeth, February 11, 1678.*

“ After so long and active a life as you have spent hitherto in serving the public to so good a purpose at home and abroad, in that great variety of stations and conditions in which God by his good providence hath placed you, there is no man, I think, who, observing you to make to land, and ready to put into port, did not follow you with his good wishes, that your anchors and cable might hold; that you might ride safe there from all harms, and enjoy a long and an easy old age, and at last find that happy *euthavasia* that always attends a life led according to the rules of our great and common Master. I have not hitherto interrupted your privacy and retirement, but prayed heartily, as I do still, that you may enjoy the comforts of it till our Lord shall think fit to remove you from your work to your reward; which sure you long for, as a labourer for the shadow of the evening.

“ But, my lord, (and therefore after all the former descant upon ‘*fortiter occupa portum*,’ I am to say also from the same poet, ‘*O navis, referent in mare te novi fluctus*,’) you stand on the shore, and cannot but see us toiling and rowing. I know you pity us, for the wind is contrary. We must desire you (as we all do) once more to put out again, and help us. Yesterday I had a private intimation from my superior, that it is his pleasure some further attempt should speedily be made to recover the Duke of York out of that foul apostasy into which the busy traitors from Rome have seduced him. And he names your lordship, if not the only person proper for such a negotiation, at least as most fit to appear in the head of it. I cannot minutely

II. at the Hague, and for the exiled royalists at different places. In 1660 he was made Dean of Christ's Church and Bishop of Worcester; and was appointed to preach the Coronation Sermon for Charles II. In 1662, he was translated to Winchester, and died

in 1684. He was a liberal and public-spirited man, and of considerable learning.—See SALMON'S *Lives of English Bishops*.

* See Appendix to *Henry Earl of Clarendon's Letters and Diary*, p. 285; taken from Tanner's MSS.

discourse all particulars to you: the very naming the design will bring into your lordship's view the happy consequences which will follow it, if it shall please God to bless us with success. However, we shall not miss the comfort of having done our duty in a thing which is so highly decent in the king to direct, and for us to endeavour; and which will certainly be acceptable both to God and man, whatever the event shall prove. I cannot doubt, my lord, but you will be ready to hazard something; and your particular friends here will be careful to provide you so fair accommodations as may abate as much as possible of the danger; and the rest of us will not fail to attend you with our hearty prayers, that the good hand of God may be upon you to bring you safe, and to give you favour in the sight of man. Though we cannot expect you should immediately on the receipt hereof come towards us; yet we hope you will immediately resolve and let us know it; for the matter is pressing, and I am urged to hasten it to an issue. That it may be such as our souls desire, shall be the daily prayer of,

“ My good lord,

“ Your lordship's affectionate brother,

“ And servant in our common Master.”

The Bishop of Winchester, in answer* to this letter, stated that nothing but such an occasion could have prevailed on him to leave his retreat; that, notwithstanding his secluded habits and advanced age, (for within a fortnight he should enter on the eighty-second year of his age,) still in compliance with what the king and his grace thought right, he would not fail to lend his assistance towards effecting a matter of such great importance, at whatever risk to himself it might be.

Accordingly, on the 21st of February, the Duke of York having granted an audience, and been previously made acquainted with their purpose, the Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of Winchester were introduced into his closet at St. James's; and the archbishop addressed him in the following excellent speech, which, in many of its parts, seems admirably calculated to work upon the feelings of the duke, and, by awakening in his

* See Clarendon's Appendix, p. 267.

mind early recollections, to win him back to that Church which he had now deserted :—

“ May it please your Royal Highness*,

“ We are here to wait upon you this morning (this my reverend brother and myself) with allowance and by your appointment, and are therefore the bolder to pray you, that of your clemency you would hear us patiently a few words. We come to you, sir, with that humility and profound respect which befits those who have the honour to speak to so great a prince; and with hearts full of that duty and loyalty which upon so many accounts is particularly due from us to your most illustrious family. But we come also warmed and enlivened, and spirited with that ardent zeal and true devotion which we owe to the excellent religion we profess, and to that most holy faith whereof our kings have the honour to be, and to be styled, the defenders. What we are now about to say to your highness is that which heaven and earth have long expected from us that we should say, and what we cannot answer it to God or man, if we omit or neglect when we have an opportunity; which your royal highness is pleased at this time to afford us. And therefore hearken unto us, we beseech you, that God may hearken unto you; and let it be no grief nor offence of heart unto you, if with that freedom which becomes good Christians and loyal subjects and true Englishmen, we lay before you at this time some of the many grievances, and just complaints of our common mother, the holy, but most afflicted, Church of England.

“ If there be now in the world a church to whom that eulogium, that she is a lily among thorns, is due and proper, it is this church of which we are members, as it stands reformed now and established amongst us: the purest certainly upon earth, as being purified from those many corruptions and abuses which the lapse of times, the malice of the devil, and the wickedness of men had introduced insensibly into the doctrine and worship and government of it. But then withal this lily of purity hath for these many years (by the malicious and subtle machinations of her restless and implacable enemies) been surrounded with thorns

* Clarendon's Appendix, p. 268.

on every side; and even to this day she bears in her body the marks of the Lord Jesus, the scars of the old, and the impression of new and more dangerous, wounds; and so fills up daily that which is behind of the sufferings of her crucified Saviour.

“But yet, sir, in the multitude of the sorrows which she hath in her heart, give us leave to tell you, (for so it is,) scarce anything hath so deeply and so sensibly wounded her, as that your royal highness should think fit even in her affliction to forsake her. Her’s is the womb that bare you, sir, and her’s the pap that gave you suck. You were born within her then happy pale and communion, and baptized into her holy faith: you sucked the first principles of Christianity from her, the principles of the oracles of God, that sincere milk of the word, not adulterated with heterogeneous or foreign mixtures of any kind. Your royal father, that blessed martyr of ever-glorious memory, who loved her and knew how to value her, and lost his all in this world for her, even his life too, bequeathed you to her at the last. When he was ready to turn his back upon an impious and ungrateful world, and had nothing else now left him but this excellent religion, (which he thought not only worth his three kingdoms but ten thousand worlds,) he gave that queen in legacy amongst you. For thus he bespake the king your brother, and in him all that were his: words that deserve to be written in letters of gold, and to be engraved in brass or marble: ‘If you never see my face again, I require and entreat you, as your father and as your king, that you never suffer your heart to receive the least check or disaffection from the true religion established in the Church of England. I tell you I have tried it, and after much search and many disputes, have concluded it to be the best in the world.’

“And accordingly, sir, we hereupon enjoyed you for many years, to your—we hope, we are sure to our—exceeding great comfort and satisfaction. We saw you in those happy days constant and assiduous in the chapels and oratories of the palace.

“Like the bright morning and evening star you still arose and set with our sun, and shined with him there in the same heavenly orb. You stood, as it was meet, next to the throne, the eldest son of this now despised Church, and in capacity to become

one day the nursing father of it: and we said in our hearts, It may so come to pass, that under his shadow also we shall sit down and be safe. But alas! it was not long before you withdrew yourself by degrees from thence; (we know not how, nor why, God knows;) and though we were loath at first to believe our fears, yet they proved at last too mighty for us; and when our eyes failed with looking up for you in that house of our God, and we found you not, instead of fear, sorrow filled our hearts, and we mourn your absence ever since, and cannot be comforted. And then in that other august assembly in the house of the kingdom, (the most sacred of any but the house of God himself,) think, we beseech you, sir, (and sure it will soften and intenerate you into some pity when you have thought,) how you stab every one of us to the heart, how you even break our hearts, when we observe (as all the world doth) that we no sooner address ourselves to heaven for a blessing upon the public counsels (in which you have yourself so great too, and so high a concern,) but immediately you turn your back upon us.

“Have we forgotten the name of our God? or do we stretch our hands to a strange God? Would not God search this out? for He knoweth the very secrets of the heart. Or, if indeed we worship the same one God, and go to Him by that one Mediator of God and man, whom you cannot refuse, is there anything in the matter of our requests which can be justly blamed by any Christians? We pray (amongst the rest) for your royal highness by name, and so do many thousands of good Christians besides within his Majesty's dominions every day. And can you find in your heart, sir, (a heart so noble and generous, so courteous too,) to throw back all these prayers, and renounce them, as so many affronts and injuries to heaven and you? If we who stand here before you, sir, should declare, (as we do at present, and we hope it becomes us not,) that we do now actually lift up our hearts with our hands unto God in the heavens, that He would be pleased to endue you with His holy Spirit, to enrich you with His heavenly grace, to prosper you with all happiness, and to bring you to His everlasting kingdom; can you withhold your soul from going up together with our souls one entire sacrifice to heaven to so good and so holy a purpose? Or, if you can (which

seems indeed to be the sad state of the case, nor is that action of yours, in the common acceptation of mankind, capable of fairer construction): blessed God, what shall we say? Tell us, then, if you please, what we are to think you judge of us. Are our prayers (so qualified as before) not only turned into sin to ourselves, but able to devastate and unhallow yours too by their contagion? Are we then all become to you as heathen men and publicans; given up as firebrands of hell, and marked out for damnation? Or, rather, sir, (for what patience, what phlegm of a stoic, can tamely pass it by?) have not they, to whom you have unhappily surrendered the conduct of your conscience, put off at once all reason and common sense, all bowels of Christian charity and mercy, nay, all common modesty and humanity itself?—Now, blessed be God, that these men are not appointed judges of the quick and the dead; for then no flesh would be saved, but those few (I say few in regard of the whole Christian world) who absolutely give up themselves to serve the secular interests and designs of the proudest, the cruellest, and the most uncharitable church in the world. It is more than time, sir, that you consider seriously between God and your own soul, (when you two meet together alone at midnight,) what you have done, and where you are; that you remember whence you are fallen, and repent, and do the first works; that at length you open your eyes and your ears (and we beseech Almighty God, who only can, to open your heart) to better and more impartial information. It may be, you have been told (we are sure it is the usual method in which some treat their proselytes,) that you ought to put out your own eyes, and give them your hand to lead you whither they please; to yield up yourself entirely in implicit faith and wretched blind obedience to all their imperious dictates and commands, but by no means to hear or read (much less consider) what any man else can suggest to the contrary; which is so mean and so unmanly a submission of reason, and faith too, and of all the powers of the soul, to the arbitrary impositions of an insolent and tyrannical faction, that nothing can be more so; unless this be, that, if perhaps under this dismal universal interdict of all aids and assistances that can come in to you from abroad, it shall please God himself by His holy spirit to hover on the working of your own thoughts within,

and by that collision to strike fire out of them, and to say, Let there be light, and in that light to show you the error or the sin of something that hath been imposed upon you: you are bound (say these severe casuists, but remiss enough in other instances) to resist those motions, to refuse those irradiations, to rebel against that light, and to shake these bright sparks of heaven out of your bosom, and tread them under foot, and damn them all as the suggestions and temptations of the devil. Certainly there cannot be, I think; a stronger presumption (I had almost said a clearer demonstration) of a bad cause, weak and ruinous in itself, diffident too and despairing in itself, than such a vile and disingenuous fashion of procedure. And if this, sir, were the case with you at present, we should have nothing left us to do but only to mourn for you in secret, and to commend you to the extraordinary and miraculous mercies of God, which alone can rescue you from so great a bondage. But we hope better things of you, great sir, and things that accompany salvation, though thus we speak. You are master of too good an understanding, and of too high a carriage, to suffer yourself to be treated at so vile and cheap a rate. A generous and noble mind can never give up itself to be thus imposed upon, and ridden by such unjust, immodest pretenders. They are not only cruel, but impudent and foolish, that pretend great kindness forsooth, while they put out a man's eyes, (at least hoodwink, and blindfold him,) and then set him to grind in their mills, and serve their turns upon him in all the low instances of drudgery. Whereas the true and genuine Christian religion is a plain, and honest, and disinterested thing, full of sweet candour and holy simplicity, hath no tricks in it, no designs upon any man, but only to make him wise and good, and so, happy for ever: and it suits not at all with the noble fine temper and ingenuity of it to pretend or desire to be taken upon trust, or to obtrude itself upon any man without examination. Nothing at all of that moment is to be done in the dark, or be huddled up in such a blind implicit manner. The coin that refuseth the touchstone and the balance, is justly suspected false and adulterate; and will never go for current payment with any that understand themselves and take care of their affairs. And therefore, sir, for the love of heaven and your own soul, look about

you, and make use of the faculties which God hath given you. You owe a satisfaction to yourself, and so doth every honest man in whatever he doth; and when all is done and said on all sides, if he but lets himself loose to think, consider, and reflect, he will judge for himself at last, and he cannot help or avoid it. It was St. Paul's advice to his Thessalonians, (and it is our's to you, sir, and the sum of what we would say,) 'Prove all things, and hold fast that which is good,' or, with those Bereans, more noble than their neighbours, 'Search the Scriptures, whether those things be so or not.' And if this be your present resolve or inclination, (as we trust it is,) we are here, sir, in our own, and in the names of the rest of our brethren now about town, to make you a most humble tender of our best and utmost assistance; and that the consultation may be easy and come to a short issue, we will not engage you in doubtful disputations; we will not lead you into hard and thorny questions; we will not perplex you with the subtilties and niceties of the schools, nor with anything that lies remote and out of common view, beyond the reach of ordinary notice. A plain text or two of Scripture, and a plain obvious matter of fact recorded in a hundred books, that are in our own language, and in every man's hand, is all we shall trouble your royal highness with: and from these, so few and humble premises, we doubt not by God's assistance to be able to evince, that your royal highness is bound in conscience, and as you tender the welfare of your immortal soul, immediately to quit the communion and guidance of your step-dame, the Church of Rome, and then return into the bosom of your true, dear, and holy mother, the Church of England. And thus we prove the first of these; sc. that you ought forthwith to abandon the communion of the Church of Rome.

"That Church which teacheth and practiseth the doctrines destructive of salvation is to be relinquished. But the Church of Rome teacheth and practiseth doctrines destructive of salvation. Therefore the Church of Rome is to be relinquished."

The delivery of this address occupied nearly half an hour. The duke heard the archbishop without at all interrupting him. As soon, however, as he had concluded, he expressed how much

surprise he had felt when the application was made to him to permit those two prelates to wait upon him, as from the whole of their bench; that he had not thought it right to refuse them, although he felt that to be pressed upon such a point just before the meeting of parliament was very injurious to his interests; that the prejudices now prevailing against him on the subject of his religion were very strong, and that this must tend to aggravate them. He then asked the archbishop whether he had come on this occasion by the direction of the king, or merely at the request of the bishops. He answered that the king knew of their intention, but that the design originated with the bishops. The duke then replied, that he had not the smallest doubt of the good intentions both of themselves and of some others of their order; still he could not help suspecting that those who had urged them to this measure, intended to do him an injury. He added, with reference to the discourse they had made, that it would be presumptuous in an illiterate man like himself to enter into controversial disputes with persons of their learning: nevertheless, he would have acquainted them with the reasons of his conversion, if he had thought the occasion a proper one for so doing, and if his leisure had permitted: he assured them that he had taken all the pains he could to examine the grounds of his religious faith; that he had not made the change hastily or without consideration, or without foresight of the inconveniences which must ensue to him from it. Having said thus much, he begged them not to take it amiss, or feel surprised, that the great pressure of business made it necessary for him to dismiss them without any further discussion of the points which they had urged*.

It does not appear that the duke ever reverted to the subject with the archbishop, or invited any further discussion of the points which formed the matter of this address. No doubt his mind was at this time too strongly prejudiced in favour of Popish doctrines to admit of any reasonable chance of his conversion, or even of his listening to the arguments that were urged against them, with a mind open to conviction.

In the execution of the duties of the exalted station to which

* See the *Stuart Papers, Life of King James*, taken from his Private Memoirs, vol. i. pp. 539, 540.

he was now called, Archbishop Sancroft showed himself ever attentive to the best interests of the Church, anxious to preserve the purity of the ministerial character, and to provide for the proper performance of the ministerial functions. He distinguished himself too on just occasions by a vigorous exertion of his archiepiscopal authorities.

A letter, which he wrote to Dr. Isaac Barrow*, bishop of St. Asaph, soon after his appointment to the primacy, conveys a favourable impression both of the uprightness and of the benevolence of his mind, at the same time that it exhibits a fair specimen of the neat and expressive style in which it was his habit to write. Bishop Barrow, it appears†, had displayed peculiar disinterestedness in forbearing to renew the lease of an estate of considerable value, on which two lives out of three had already fallen; thereby giving up the private emolument, to which he was fairly entitled, for the advantage of his successors, and the perpetual augmentation of the see; and, in order to secure this benefit to the see, in the event of his life dropping before the lease actually fell in, he procured by the assistance of the archbishop a royal letter sanctioning what he had done, and strictly requiring any bishop who might succeed him to confirm it. The archbishop, in sending to him this royal letter, addresses him in the following terms‡:—

“SALUTEM IN CHRISTO.

“My good Lord, *“Lambeth House, April 1st, 1679.*

“In an age when so many seek their own, and so few the good of the Church in general, it is an high and noble example which your lordship has given us, by neglecting the opportunity of your private advantage to promote the common benefit of your successors. I assure you, his majesty esteems and accepts well this instance of your zeal for God’s Church, and with that God I

* This was the uncle of Dr. Isaac Barrow, the celebrated theologian and preacher, and master of Trinity College, Cambridge. He was educated at Peter-house, Cambridge, and became Fellow; was ejected, and forced into retirement, during the troubles; re-

turned to his Fellowship at the Restoration; in 1632, was made Bishop of Man; in 1660, Bishop of St. Asaph; and died in 1680. See BROWN WILKIS’S *Survey of the Cathedral Church of St. Asaph.*

† Ibid. p. 278.

‡ Ibid. p. 276.

doubt not your reward will be on high. To Him my prayer shall be, that you may live to see the good work accomplished which you have so well begun. But if it shall please Him to take you from your work to your reward before, the enclosed may secure you that care will be taken to (give in) succession what you have so worthily designed. For the manner of doing it, I consulted both my Lord Chancellor and my Lord Chief Justice North; and if you can suggest anything that will make it stronger or safer I will pursue it.

"My lord, there is one thing more which I have been much importuned to move your lordship in, and it is with my lord of London's privity and consent that it is once more proposed to you. There is a stranger who has been some time among us, John Sesbaldus Fabricius, a man of very good learning, humble, and modest, one that loves our Church well, and hath written in defence of it, and thereby created himself enemies both among our Dissenters here and his own countrymen, who have thereupon divested him of the livelihood he had there before, so that I have now reason to fear he is in want. My lord, I have been informed that his majesty hath written twice to you to bestow one of the many sinecures within your patronage upon him, it being in regard of his want of language the only proper way of providing for him. I am very loath to press upon your lordship, it is against my nature and against my rule. It is fit, I think, that every man be left freely to dispose of his own. I shall only say, *This man is worthy for whom you should do this, for he hath loved our nation*; and I verily believe that if you shall comply with this request of mine, He that is the God of the helpless, and of the stranger, will give you the comfort of it both here and hereafter.

"I am, my lord,

"With all hearty affection, your loving brother,

"*To the Lord Bishop of St. Asaph.*"

"W. CANT."

In the first year of his elevation to the see, the archbishop deemed it expedient to call the attention of the bishops of his province to the necessity of exercising greater strictness than had usually obtained, in inquiring into the characters of those who were

destined for the sacred functions. It appears that, in granting testimonials in favour of candidates for holy orders, too great laxity had been practised; those who subscribed them having been frequently in the habit of signing their names, merely as a matter of form, and often without proper and strict inquiry into the truth of what they testified. For the purpose of checking a practice so injurious to the best interests of the Church, he issued the following directions, addressed to the dean of his province, the Bishop of London, to be communicated to the several bishops of the province.

Directions from the Archbishop of Canterbury to his Suffragans, concerning Testimonials to be granted unto Candidates for Holy Orders, dated from Lambeth House, August 23rd, 1678.*

“SALUTEM IN CHRISTO.

“My Lord,

“Whereas the easy and promiscuous granting of letters testimonial, (which is in itself a sacred thing, and in the first intention of great and very weighty importance,) is by the lapse of time and the corruption which by insensible degrees is crept into the best institutions, come to be, both in the Universities and elsewhere abroad in the dioceses, a matter of mere formality, and piece of common civility, scarce denied to any that asked it, and many times upon the credit of the first subscriber, attested by the rest who have otherwise no knowledge of the person so adorned: or else, where more conscience is made of bearing false witness, even for a neighbour, is done so perfunctorily, and in so low and dilute terms, as ought to signify nothing at all to the great end for which 'tis designed to serve; and yet is sometimes, with a like easiness and remissness, received and proceeded upon; whereby great mischiefs in the Church and scandals daily ensue, persons altogether undeserving, or at least not duly qualified, being too often, upon the credit of such papers, admitted into holy orders, and, in consequence thereupon, thrusting themselves into employments of high trust and dignity and advantage in the Church, and by their numerous intrusions preventing and

* See WILKINS'S *Concilia Magna Britann. Sancroft. Archiep.*

excluding others of greater modesty and merit: concerning all which your lordship cannot but remember how many and how great complaints we met with, both from our brethren the bishops, and others, during the late session of parliament, and what expedients for remedy thereof were then under debate and consideration among us. Now, as the result of those counsels, and for the effectual redressing of those inconveniences and preventing the like for the future, (though it would be abundantly sufficient to call all persons concerned on both sides, to the serious perusal of, and exact compliance with, those excellent constitutions and canons ecclesiastical, made in the year 1603, which have most wisely and fully provided to obviate all these evils,) yet because in the modern practice they seem not to be duly attended to, it is thought fit and necessary again to limit and regulate the grant, the matters, and the form of testimonials as follows: *videlicet*—

“That no letters testimonial be granted only upon the credit of others, or out of a judgment of charity, which believes all things and hopes all things, but from immediate and personal knowledge, and that vowed and expressed in the letters themselves.

“That (as to the form of these letters) every such testimonial have the date, both as to the time and place, expressly mentioned in the body of it, before it be subscribed by any, and pass also (as the canon requires) under hand and seal; those namely from the Universities, under the common seal of their respective colleges, attested by the subscription of the master, head, or principal person there; and those from other places, under the hands and seals of three priests, at the least, of known integrity, gravity, and prudence, who are of the voisinage where the person testified of resides, or have otherwise known his life and behaviour by the space of three years next before the date of the said letters.

“And as to the matter of them, they that particularly express the present condition of the person in whose behalf the testimony is given; his standing and degree in the University; his place of present abode and course of life; his end and design for which he would make use of the said testimonial; whether for obtaining

the order of deacon or priest, or the employment of a parson, vicar, curate, or schoolmaster; and that the subscribers know him to be worthy, and in regard of learning, prudence, and holy life, duly qualified for the same respectively: and if he desires holy orders, his age too, if the subscribers know it, or else that they admonish him to bring it, otherwise credibly and sufficiently attested. Lastly, if such testimonial be to be made use of in another diocese than that where it is given, that it be by no means received without the letters dimissory of the bishop or other ordinary of the place, attesting in writing the ability, honesty, and good conversation of the person commended, in the place from whence he came.

“ My lord, this is (I think) the sum of what was discoursed and resolved between us when we were last together. I therefore desire you, with all convenient speed, to cause copies thereof to be transcribed and transmitted to the several bishops of this province, and vice-chancellors of the universities respectively, and to be by them communicated (as soon as may well be) to as many as are herein concerned, that they may not be disappointed by coming furnished with such testimonials only as will not, nor ought, to be received to such great purposes, for which they are so often made use of. Commending your lordship and your great affairs to the blessing of God Almighty,

“ I remain, my lord, your lordship’s assured loving brother,
“ W. CANT.”

Another measure, connected with the general welfare of the Church, which engaged his attention at an early period after his elevation to the primacy, was the augmentation of small vicarages and other ecclesiastical benefices, in which the revenue for the minister was insufficient for his decent maintenance. It has already appeared that, when he occupied a lower station in the Church, he had turned his attention to this subject, and had, in one instance, which came immediately under his jurisdiction, himself applied a remedy to the evil.

It is evident, from what passed at an early period after the Restoration, that ecclesiastical persons and bodies, in many cases where they themselves were the impropiators, had not been

sufficiently careful to assign to the officiating minister a competent salary, having frequently suffered the money payment allotted for his maintenance to remain unchanged, under a considerable depreciation of the currency of the kingdom; and having even neglected to make an additional endowment of the benefice, in some instances where the augmented value of the property held under the impropriation, made it peculiarly reasonable that such an augmentation should be effected. This subject had engaged the attention of the king at an early period after the Restoration*; and he had by a royal letter directed the bishops and members of cathedral churches to increase the stipends paid to the ministers in the vicarages and donatives under their jurisdiction. Subsequently, in 1676, an Act of Parliament had passed†, enacting that, under all renewals of leases of rectories or impropriate tithes, where an augmented sum should be assigned for the maintenance of the minister, such augmentation should be perpetual. Still it appears that this desirable measure had not, in all instances, been carried into effect; and in consequence, in 1680, the archbishop addressed the following letter to the Bishop of London, as dean of his province, to be communicated to the several bishops and deans:—

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY'S LETTER‡ TO THE BISHOP OF LONDON, ABOUT THE AUGMENTATION OF VICARAGES AND CURACIES.

“ My Lord,

“ The patrimony of the Church (especially in the smaller vicarages) hath been so long and so often, by unjust customs, and otherwise, invaded, and by degrees daily more and more diminished; and the little that is left of the old endowment, so likely by the same arts to be swallowed up and lost, that we have reason to bless God, who at the king's happy restoration put it into his heart by his letters to command us, upon the renewing of church leases, to make further reservations, beyond the old rent, for the augmenting the livelihood of poor vicars and curates; which being done, he also past a law for the confirming and per-

* In the year 1662.—See KENNETT'S *History*, iii. 243.

† See 29 Charles II. ch. 8.

‡ See WILKINS'S *Concilia M. Brit.*

petuating such augmentations. After which pious care and provision, it would be an indelible blot upon us, if we should be found to have finally neglected any act enjoined us by that statute; whereby the payment of those augmentations is directed to be evidenced and secured. And yet (with grief I write it) I think I have ground to fear, that what in obedience to that excellent law ought to have been done by us above three years since, in order to so pious a purpose, is not to this day by us all universally performed. And, therefore, I desire your lordship to communicate this my letter to all our brethren, the bishops of this province, by them to be transmitted to their respective deans, archdeacons, and prebendaries, strictly requiring them, upon receipt hereof, to have recourse to the said Act of Parliament, and forthwith punctually and effectually to perform what is therein enjoined them. And when that is done, to the end I may be assured that at last it is done, that every bishop, dean, and archdeacon send me a particular of all the augmentations respectively by them made, or by their predecessor, with the names of the parishes, and the sum so reserved to the use of the incumbents, subscribed with their own hands; that so I may know what hath been done herein, throughout the whole province. My lord, I doubt not of your lordship's readiness to promote so good a work, which with your good lordship, and all your great affairs, I commend to God's blessing, and remain your lordship's most affectionate friend and brother,

"W. CANT."

"*Lambeth House, February 2, 1680.*"

But Archbishop Sancroft embraced frequent opportunities of practising himself, what he thus anxiously recommended to others. On several occasions of renewing the leases of impropriate rectories under his jurisdiction, as archbishop, he made a liberal augmentation to the income of the officiating ministers. Among other instances of this*, he granted to the curate and preacher of Maidstone, for his better maintenance, a portion of the small tithes accruing within that borough; and, on renewing the lease of the impropriate rectorial tithes of Postling, in Kent, instead of

* See KENNETT'S *Case of Impropriations*, p. 304, &c.

accepting the fine, he employed the sum for the permanent improvement of the salary of the vicar, providing at the same time that no injury should thereby be done to his own successors. In the first year of James II.'s reign, two particular instances of his exercising this useful description of benevolence are recorded. The one regarded the parishes of Whalley, Blackburn, and Rochdale, in Lancashire, where he possessed the inappropriate rectories and the presentation to the livings. These parishes being of great extent, and the population having increased prodigiously, several chapels had been built for the accommodation of the inhabitants, but no regular provision had been made for the maintenance of the ministers who performed the service. In consequence, on a great fine falling at this time to Archbishop Sancroft for the renewal of the lease of the rectorial tithes, he had the liberality to expend it in the purchase of lands, the rent of which he appropriated to the stipends of these ministers.

In the other instance alluded to, he showed a pious regard to Fresingfield, the place of his birth. He purchased an estate in fee-farm rents to the value of about 52*l.* per ann., which he settled on the vicar and his successors for ever, making a small reserve for the salary of a master for the parochial school.

At an early period of his occupation of Lambeth Palace, Archbishop Sancroft had an opportunity of paying due respect to the insulted remains of one of the greatest and most venerable of his predecessors, Archbishop Parker. At the time of the rebellion*, Lambeth Palace had shared the wretched fate of many ecclesiastical edifices, in being exposed to rude insult and violation. It fell to the possession of one of the parliamentary officers, Colonel Thomas Scott, whose temper seems to have well accorded with the views of the party in whose service he was employed. He converted the chapel where Archbishop Parker's remains were deposited, and where a monument was erected to his memory, into a hall or dancing-room; and, either for the purpose of showing his hatred to episcopacy in general, or else in the mere wantonness of profane and ferocious insolence, caused the remains of that venerable prelate to be dug up, the lead which enclosed them to be plucked off and sold, and the bones

* See DUCAREL'S *History of Lambeth Palace*.

to be buried in a dunghill. In this state they continued for some time after the Restoration. At last, Sir William Dugdale, hearing by chance of the transaction, repaired to Archbishop Sancroft, and made him acquainted with it. The archbishop immediately caused diligent search to be made, and procured the assistance of an order from the House of Lords. The bones being at last found, were decently deposited for the second time in the chapel, near the same spot where the monument formerly stood. Over them are the following words cut in the marble pavement of the chapel :

Corpus Matthæi Archiepiscopi tandem hic quiescit.

The archbishop ordered the same monument, which had formerly covered these remains, to be erected in the vestibule of the chapel, and himself composed the inscription, which is still to be seen engraved on a plate of brass affixed to it. The inscription is drawn up with singular neatness, and in very pure Latin, and is calculated to convey a high idea of the correctness of the archbishop's classical taste. It is as follows:—

MATTHÆI ARCHIEPISCOPI CENOTAPHIUM.

Corpus enim (ne nescias, lector,)
 In adyto hujus sacelli olim rite conditum,
 A sectariis perduellibus, anno MDCLVIII,
 Effracto sacrilegè hoc ipso tumulo,
 Elogio sepulchrali impiè reñixo,
 Direptis nefariè exuviis plumbeis,
 Spoliatum, violatum, eliminatum ;
 Etiam sub sterquilinio (proh scelus) abstrusum,
 Rege demum (plaudente cœlo et terrâ) redeunte,
 Ex decreto Baronum Angliæ, sedulo quæsitum,
 Et sacello postliminio redditum,
 In ejus quasi medio tandem quiescit ;
 Et quiescat utinam,
 Non nisi tubâ ultimâ sollicitandum.
 Qui denuo desecrabit, sacer esto.

Occasions were not wanting, on which Archbishop Sancroft maintained the discipline of the Church, with a just degree of dignity and firmness. A remarkable and unusual instance of this occurred in his suspension of Dr. Thomas Wood, bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, from his episcopal functions, on account of his neglect of his diocese, and other misdemeanours. In this bishop we have an unhappy example of a very undeserving per-

son having been raised to that important and dignified station in the Church, by most unworthy and disgraceful means. It is recorded* that he obtained his bishopric immediately from Charles II., through the interest of the Duchess of Cleveland, and that he recommended himself to her, by contriving that his niece, a wealthy heiress, to whom he was guardian, should marry the Duke of Southampton, son of the duchess. After he was placed in the bishopric, he grossly neglected the concerns of the diocese, residing entirely out of it, and performing none of the functions. In addition to this, he refused to build an episcopal house, although he received money for this purpose from the heirs of his predecessor, and although he cut down from the estates of the see, as for this building, timber which he afterwards sold. The Archbishop of Canterbury considered that a case of this flagrant nature demanded the interference of his metropolitan authority. He accordingly, in April, 1684, suspended † Bishop Wood from his episcopal dig-

* See Bishop Kennett's Papers in Lansdowne MSS. in British Museum, v. 987. 159.

† As transactions of this description are very rare in the Church, it may be satisfactory to give the instrument of suspension, taken from Archbishop Sancroft's registers among the Lambeth records:

In Dei nomine Amen. Cum coram venerabili et egregio viro Dom^o Ric^o Lloyd, milite et legum doctore surrogato venerabilis et egregii viri Domⁱ Roberti Wyseman militis et legum doctoris almæ curiæ Cantuariensis de arcubus Londin. officialis principalis legitime constituti, quoddam negotium officii promotum per Philippum Jacob Gen. contra reverendum in Christo Patrem ac dominum dominum Thomam permissione divinâ Coventr. et Litchf. Episcopum nuper pendebat et vertebatur. Cumque dictum negotium per præfatum Philippum Jacob promotorem officii prædicti et præfatum reverendum patrem dominum Thomam Episcopum antedictum commissum et relatum fuerit arbitrio reverendorum in Christo patrum ac dominorum dominorum Henrici

per missione divinâ Londin. Episcopi ac Domini Wilh^{mi} permissione divinâ. Petrobургensis Episcopi arbitrorum hinc inde electorum per eos audiendum et terminandum, prout in actis hujus Almæ Curiæ Cantuariensis de arcubus plenius liquet et apparet: Cunque dicti reverendi patres per judicium laudum sive sententiam eorum manibus et sigillis infra tempus eis præfixum, et limitatum subscriptum sigillatum et deliberatum inter alia in dicto judicio, laudo, sive sententia præfatum reverendum dominum Thomam permissione divinâ Coventr. et Litchf. Episcopum ab officio suo et functione Episcopali et a beneficiis proficuis et perquisitis Episcopatus prædicti suspendendum fore adjudicaverint et determinaverint donec mihi Wilhelmo providentia divinâ Cantuariens. Archiepiscopo plenam fecerit et debitam submissionem pro absentia suâ a suâ diocesi, neglectu officii sui et cæteris criminibus contra eum allegatis et probatis. Cum denique dictum judicium laudum et sententia arbitrorum antedictorum fuerit, et sit per sententiam definitivam hujus almæ curiæ Cantuariensis de arcubus confir-

nity and functions. The bishop submitted some time after, and the suspension was taken off in May, 1686. However, this exercise of authority, tempered with mildness, unfortunately seems to have failed in producing the desired effect; for the bishop appears to have continued in the habit of residing at a distance from his diocese, and of neglecting its concerns.

About the end of the year 1684, a communication was made to the archbishop from Dr. Covel, then resident at the Hague, as chaplain to the Princess of Orange, at the suggestion and instigation of some persons there, recommending an attempt at the formation of a public league for the defence of the Protestant cause. Nothing more is known respecting the particulars of the plan, or the characters and motives of the persons who were forward in moving it, than is unfolded in the letter of the archbishop to Dr. Covel, and Dr. Covel's reply. The archbishop's letter exhibits a striking proof of that cautious wisdom, and sagacious insight into human characters, for which he was so singularly distinguished; and Dr. Covel's reply clearly shows that the view which the archbishop took of the motives which led to the communication was perfectly just.

FROM ARCHBISHOP SANCROFT* TO DR. COVEL AT THE HAGUE.

"Sir,

"January 2, 1684

"Almost ever since I received your letter I have been under so great a distemper as I scarce ever felt before in my

mat. ratificat. et sententiat. Idcirco nos Wilhelmus providentiâ divinâ Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus totius Angliæ Primus et Metropolitanus præfatum et reverendum in Christo patrem ac dominum Thomam permissione divinâ Coventr. et Litchf. Episcopum ab officio suo et functione Episcopali et a beneficiis proficuis et perquisitis Episcopatus prædict. donec fecerit nobis plenam et debitam submissionem pro absentia suâ a suâ diocesi, neglectu officii sui et omnibus aliis criminibus contra eum allegatis et probatis suspendimus in his scriptis.

W. CANT.

Lecta die Sabbath. 19 Julii 1684, inter horas undec. et duodec. antemeridianas per rev^m Christo patrem ac dominum dominum Wilhelmum providentiâ divinâ Cantuar Archiep. in capella sua infra manerium suum de Lambeyth in com. Surrie, ad humilem petitionem M. Everardi Erton, &c. præsentibus tunc et ibidem reverendo in Christo patre ac domino domino Francisco permissione divinâ Roffen. Episcopo ac reverendo in Christo patre Johanne permissione divinâ Insulæ Man et Sodorensis Episcopo Domino Bristolens. Electo.

* See Tanner's MSS. v. 32. No. 214.

life, occasioned by old age and the severity of the present season, and that followed with so great a decay of strength and spirits that I was not able to hold up my head to do any business. And, though as yet but little relieved, I have at last taken up my pen to say something to your letter, because it is perhaps expected. And I shall begin with this necessary protestation, that there are not, it may be, many persons who have a deeper or more tender resentment than I have of the sad and deplorable state of the reformed churches in some parts of the continent of Europe: and I should count it my joy and the crown of my rejoicing, if I could contribute anything, besides my daily prayers, *ut videat Deus et requirat*, towards restoring and advancing them to a yet better condition. I would also reckon it among the greater felicities of my life, if I might find myself in capacity to do any agreeable service to those very great and most illustrious persons, whose names gild and ennoble your paper.

“ But since I am required in the first place to open my own mind, and to give my opinion as to the expedient at present advanced, I am very much afraid it will have little or no effect toward the pious design so well intended. In one of the places, whither it is addressed, things are, you know, infinitely embroiled and exasperated, and brought to the utmost extremity; so that it is hardly seasonable, if decent, to move anything there of this kind. The other place is the country and the proper soil of flatteries, where they are sown so thick, and come up daily so rank, that they grow up oftentimes into something too like blasphemies. And how well or favourably they are like to be received there, that come to tell the truth, to blame the present conduct, and to suggest unwelcome, or indeed any other, counsels, were not perhaps unfit to be thought of beforehand. After so long a train of uninterrupted and prodigious successes, to think that they may be remonstrated or harangued into wiser or more moderate counsels, is all one as to hope to calm a tempest with a lesson upon the lute, or to silence the roaring of the winds with a trim air upon the flageolet. Remonstrances between princes signify little, and therefore are not used, but when there is something else in readiness to keep them in countenance when they

are despised, and to go on when they are forced to give over. And if that be indeed the last resort intended in this proposition, I must beg pardon if I refuse utterly to give any opinion on so nice a subject.

“ And thus, sir, I having in some measure, and as my present unhealthiness would give leave, given some answer to your letter, and made some declaration of my own opinion upon the main matter propounded, the rest, I conceive, falls all to the ground: and, in particular, as to the *communicandum* you sent enclosed, I have little to return that is fit for paper. For, though I would be glad to serve my brethren, yet their trumpet gives so uncertain a sound, that I know not how to prepare myself to do it. They seem sometimes to give me some commission; but presently after, they take it back again, with so many limitations and wary restrictions, that at last it becomes not feasible. Upon consideration, I find that the only thing practicable in it, is *ut rem totam silentio premam*; which, I assure you, I have done hitherto, and will do for the future most faithfully and religiously; and I have right, I think, to expect the same silence from them and you.

“ And now, upon this occasion, let me tell you an adventure which befell me some years since. There came to dine with me a foreign ambassador from one of the northern crowns, who, after dinner, threw this blunt and abrupt question at me; ‘ Why do not you persuade the king to put himself in the head of the Protestant league against France?’ I answered him, as was meet, with questions: ‘ And why do not you, in order hereto, persuade your king, from whom it should begin, forthwith to adjust all differences with his neighbouring kings? They are brethren of the same confession, worship, and discipline; nearest neighbours, yet most deadly implacable enemies, that omit no occasion on either side of ruining and destroying one another. Since, therefore, you have put me on the why not, why do not they appoint the best and wisest men of both kingdoms a committee *de finibus requirendis*, in the first place; and, in the next, to arbitrate all things in question between them; and, in fine, to establish a firm, holy, and inviolable league, offensive and

defensive, betwixt them and their kingdoms for ever. And, this being done, why should they not put over to the other side, and persuade into this blessed harmony, which one would think should not be difficult, those mighty princes on the opposite shore, with the rest all over Germany? And when you see such a body of a league prepared, it will be more seasonable to inquire, and more easy to find, who shall be the head.' The ambassador answered not my question; nor was I any further troubled with his.

"You'll say, perhaps, these are fine airy speculations, like some mechanical designs, easily laid down upon paper; but when we go on to practice, the matter will prove stubborn and unmanageable. It may be so; I fear it will be so. But yet, whatever becomes of your project or mine, or any other particular scheme, I can by no means, as our brethren seem to do, give up the whole Protestant cause at once, as lost and desperate, and ready to breathe its last. No!—God hath, by the Reformation, kindled and set up a light in Christendom, which, I am fully persuaded, shall never be extinguished. Heaven and earth shall pass away, but the word of the Lord endureth for ever: and this is the word which hath been preached amongst us. Only let them that suffer according to the will of God commit the keeping of their souls to Him in well doing; let them adore the unsearchable depths of His wise providence: who, when all our fine policies are baffled and defeated, will take the matter into His own hands, and perfect what concerns us in a way we think not of: for His is the kingdom of the power; to Him be the glory for ever. Amen.

(Signed) "W. C."

DR. COVEL'S ANSWER TO ARCHBISHOP SANCROFT*.

"*Hague, January 1st 1684.*

"May it please your Grace,

"Your letter hath not only given a full demonstration of your most admirable wisdom and ample testimony of your hearty affections for the reformed religion, but you have therein highly

* Tann. MSS. v. 32. No. 216.

advanced the glory of our own church above all the suspicions and calumnies that vain and malicious men (whereof we have not a few in these parts,) can suggest, or cast upon it. I do not doubt but the *communicandum* which I was ordered to send your Grace was really an honest intention of well disposed men; yet I must freely tell you, that I believe some here would have been glad if it might have proved a snare, or have given them any handle to traduce us; for I have often found in these places a devilish spirit at work in some men's minds, (especially in the vagabonds of our own country,) whose whole business and design in these troublesome times is to blacken us as much as possible. Your Grace has exactly observed the apostle's rule *ανδριζεσθε και κραταιουτε*: you have most rationally satisfied the good men amongst us, to whom I have communicated your answer; and it will utterly confound the false brethren, and at least shatter their rotten hearts, and much abate their impudence, if not quite stop their mouths. With those it hath the same effect that your Grace's answer had to the northern ambassador; I suppose they will give over their design. To these it will prove, I doubt not, a sufficient bar to hinder those impressions which their sly and malicious insinuations might otherwise have made upon some (perhaps good, but) too easy and credulous minds."

There are no traces of any further communications having taken place on this subject between the archbishop and Dr. Covel.

From the high and honourable feelings which Archbishop Sancroft at all times displayed, it could not be doubted that he would view with great indignation all attempts at trafficking with church preferments. An instance occurred, in which he expressed his opinion on such conduct with the warmth which became him. An Archdeacon of Lincoln, having been convicted of simony in the ecclesiastical courts, presented a petition to the king for a pardon. The king referred the petition to the consideration of the archbishop, and desired him to report upon it. The archbishop gave his opinion in most unequivocal terms in the following letter addressed to his majesty.

" May it please your Majesty*,

" The matter of fact for which the petitioner stands condemned is confessed in the petition; and the matter of law, whether the fact be simony, is not, I think, doubted of, by any one but himself. His whole defence is nothing but shifting and tergiversation, both below at Lincoln and here in the Arches. And now, the sentence having overtaken him, he appeals the second time to your majesty in chancery, as if he were still confident of his innocence, and yet at the same time confesseth his guilt by imploring your majesty's gracious pardon.

" Sire, the crime he stands convicted of, is a pestilence that walketh in darkness; too often committed, but very seldom discovered. And now there is a criminal detected, if your majesty shall think fit, which God forbid, to rescue him from the penalty, the markets of Simon Magus will be more frequented than ever. Much rather, seeing he hath the courage to appeal to the delegates, to the delegates let him go; which yet, with all the rest, is humbly submitted to your majesty's wisdom and justice.

(Signed) " W. C."

When Charles the Second lay on his death-bed, under a fit of apoplexy, Archbishop Sancroft, with some other prelates, especially Bishop Ken, attended to assist his devotions. The archbishop, as Bishop Burnet relates, addressed the dying monarch in a weighty exhortation, in which he used great freedom of speech, alleging that he felt it necessary to do so on so awful an occasion, when he, to whom his words were directed, was going to be judged by One who is no respecter of persons. The king made him no answer: and paid no attention to the devotions and exhortations offered to him by any of the Protestant divines.

" Bishop Ken," as Bishop Burnet relates, " applied himself

* See Tann. MSS. 32. 208. It ought to be mentioned that there is no date to this letter, nor mention of the name of the king, whether Charles or James, to whom it was addressed. Thus, though here it is referred to Charles, it is not certain that this is rightly

done. It should be mentioned that, on referring to LENEVE's *Fasts*, it appears that the same person was Archdeacon of Lincoln from 1666 to 1715. Thus, whatever sentence was passed on this occasion, it is clear that he was not deprived of his situation.

much to the awakening of the king's conscience. He spoke with a great elevation, both of thought and expression, like a man inspired, as those who were present told me. He resumed the matter often, and pronounced many short ejaculations, and prayers, which affected all that were present, except him who was most concerned, who seemed to take no notice of him, and made him no answers." The prelates strongly urged upon him to receive the holy sacrament, but this he steadily refused.

Some persons attributed this behaviour of the king to indifference on the subject of religion. But others at the time conjectured a different motive; namely, his desire to receive the last offices of religion from the hands of a Roman Catholic priest. And this, it appears, certainly was the case. King James, then Duke of York, relates that he himself stood by the bed side, while the Protestant bishops were speaking with the king on the subject of religion; and, he adds, seeing that he would not receive the sacrament from them, and knowing his sentiments, he desired the company to stand a little from the bed, and then asked the king whether he should send for a priest; to which he replied, "For God's sake, brother, do, and lose no time." Accordingly, the duke sent for Father Huddleston, who came into the king's chamber by a back stairs. The duke whispered in the king's ear that everything was prepared; on which the king ordered that all who were in the bedchamber should withdraw, except the duke, and the Earls of Bath and Feversham; and then, as the circumstances are related by Huddleston himself, he made the king go through some acts of contrition, and after such a confession as he could then make, he gave him absolution, and administered extreme unction and the other sacraments. It is added that the king seemed to be much relieved on receiving these religious offices*.

* See *Life of James II.*, p. 747; *EVELYN'S Memoirs*, and *BURNET'S Own Times*.

CHAPTER V.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF JAMES THE SECOND TO THE
DECLARATION FOR LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE.

Address of the Bishops to King James on his Accession—His Coronation by Archbishop Sancroft—Articles for the Regulation of Ordinations and Institutions, &c.—King James's Endeavours to silence the Clergy—Ecclesiastical Commission—the Archbishop's Refusal to sit in it—Reasons for this Refusal, and Effects of it—Letter to the King respecting Preferments—Opposition as a Governor of the Charterhouse to the Dispensing Power—Letters from and to Mary, Princess of Orange.

THE day after the demise of Charles, and the accession of James to the throne, February 7, 1684, Archbishop Sancroft, accompanied by as many of the bishops as happened to be then in London, waited on the new king, and presented to him an address. The presentation of an address from this quarter at so early a period after the accession of a new monarch seems to have been unusual. The archbishop probably intended, by this early and warm expression of gratitude on the part of the Church for his gracious promises of favour and support to it made in his first speech to the privy council, to recall them to his recollection, and to fix him to the performance of them. It is curious to compare the expressions of goodwill to the Protestant Church used by James on his accession, and the hopes thereby excited in the members of the Church, with the events which afterwards took place. The address is as follows:—

Address of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishops to
King James the Second on his Accession.*

“ May it please your Majesty,

“ We are here this morning (the few bishops that are about the town) with design to throw ourselves at your majesty's feet; and there, in the names of ourselves and our brethren, and

* See Appendix to *Letters of Henry, Earl of Clarendon*, v. ii., p. 276.

the whole state of the clergy of the realm, to profess our duty and our loyalty to your majesty, your heirs, and successors. Sir, it hath been accounted the distinctive character of the Established Church, it is her glory and her holy boast, that she hath been always loyal to her kings, even in the greatest trials; and she esteems it one of her greatest honours, that your majesty hath oftentimes of late publicly declared and acknowledged it. And we humbly desire your majesty to be assured that we will make it the endeavour of our lives to make good the fair opinion you have been pleased to express concerning us, in all the instances of our duty, how costly or how hazardous soever they may prove to us.

“Sir, when we came first within the prospect (the sad prospect) of what befell us yesterday in the morning, we could not but think, that, at such a time as this is, we should have had much, very much, to ask of your majesty, and to beg it upon our knees with the same earnestness with which we would petition for our lives, if they were all in question: but your majesty’s great and unexampled goodness hath prevented us. In that most auspicious moment in which you first sat down in the chair, to which God and your right have advanced you, you were pleased in our favour to make that admirable declaration, which we ought to write down in letters of gold, and engrave in marble. However, we shall treasure it up in our hearts as the greatest foundation of comfort, which this world can afford us in our present condition. So that we have nothing to ask your majesty, but that you would be (what you have always been observed to be) yourself; that is, generous and just and true to all you once declare; nor anything to tender in return to your majesty, but our most humble thanks, with our hearts and affections, our lives and fortunes, together with our ardent prayers to Almighty God (which shall never be wanting), that He would make the rest of your majesty’s reign happy and prosperous, and suitable to these glorious beginnings; and at last crown your majesty with his own glory in the world that is to come.”

The archbishop officiated at the ceremony of the coronation of James II.; and the fact of his placing with his own hands the

crown on the head of this monarch seems to have greatly contributed to bind his attachment to him as his only lawful sovereign, and to confirm him in the steady refusal to transfer, under the subsequent change, his allegiance to another. One important deviation from established usage took place at the coronation of James II., in the omission of the administration of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper*, according to the rites of the Church of England. This omission was of course made, if not by the express direction, at least in conformity with the known wishes of the king, who, as a Papist, had conscientious objections to receiving the sacrament according to those rites. It was alleged by some persons that the archbishop departed from the line of conduct which became him, when he consented to perform the ceremony with such an important omission. Undoubtedly, it may be allowed, that he would have acted more in consistency with that striking feature in his character of rigid and unbending firmness, had he peremptorily insisted on performing the whole ceremony without any such omission, if he performed it at all. At the same time, it may be reasonably doubted whether, on a sound view of the case, this refusal would have been justifiable. James was an avowed Papist; a fact which implied a conscientious objection to receive the holy communion according to the rites of the Church of England; and parliament, by refusing to exclude him from the succession to the throne, although he was an avowed Papist, had for the time sanctioned the principle that a Papist might sit on the throne. It may therefore be said that the nation had indirectly consented, that the coronation ceremony should be performed in such a manner as a Papist could conscientiously comply with. Add to this, if the primate had refused to perform the ceremony with the omission which circumstances rendered necessary, it might have been expected that the other bishops would do the same; and thus, the singular case would have occurred of the heads of the Church refusing to crown a sovereign

* In Bishop Tanner's Papers, v. 31. p. 91, are Archbishop Sancroft's private memoranda respecting the coronation of James II. Referring to the part of the service where the communion is usually administered, he says, "Now

the king and queen being crowned, the archbishop should immediately begin the communion: but, *there being no communion*, here follow the final prayers."

whom the legislature acknowledged. It has been stated*, however, that Archbishop Sancroft afterwards reproached himself for consenting to this omission, and that the circumstance lay heavy on his spirits.

In 1685, the subject of the ordination of ministers of the Church, in strict conformity with what was required by the canons, again drew the attention of Archbishop Sancroft. He summoned a meeting of some of the bishops of his province at Lambeth Palace, and the following excellent resolutions were agreed upon, to be adopted in their own practice, and to be recommended for adoption to the other bishops, for the combined purposes of enforcing a more careful selection of persons for the ministry, and a more strict adherence to the canons of the Church, as to the age at which ordination was conferred, the seasons of the year for ordaining, and other similar particulars.

Articles† for the better Regulation of Ordinations and Institutions and other admissions to Cure of Souls, into which much abuse and uncanonical practices have lately crept.

It is agreed by and between the archbishop and bishops of the province of Canterbury, and they do hereby mutually and

* See SALMON'S *Lives of English Bishops*, p. 96. He refers for this assertion to a note in KENNETT'S *History of England*, which, however, is not to be found according to his reference. The following is the letter of King James to the archbishop, requiring his attendance at the coronation, and his performance of the duties which belonged to him. The terms in which it is expressed show that it would have been, to say the least, a very ungracious act in the archbishop to refuse officiating in the ceremony.

"James R.

"Most reverend Father in God, we greet you well. Whereas we have appointed the 23rd day of April next for the solemnity of our and our royal consort the queen's coronation. These are therefore to will and command you,

all excuses set apart, that you make your personal attendance on us, at the time above-mentioned, to do and perform such services as shall be required and belong unto you. And we do further require you to send forthwith circular letters to the respective bishops of your province, enjoining them to attend us at the same time, whereof you and they are not to fail. And so we bid you very hearty farewell. Given at our Court at Whitehall, the 23rd day of March, 1683, in the first year of our reign.

"To the Most Reverend Father in God, William Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England and Metropolitan."

See Registr. Sancroft, fol. 337.

† See WILKINS'S *Concilia M. Brit. Archiep. Sancroft*.

solemnly promise for themselves respectively to one another as followeth.

I. That they will henceforth ordain no man deacon, except he be twenty-three years old, unless he have a faculty: which the archbishop declares he will not grant, but upon very urgent occasion; nor priest, unless he be full and complete twenty-four years old, as it is indispensably required in the preface to the book of ordination; nor unless the canonical age be either by an extract out of the register book of the parish, where the person to be ordained was born, under the hands of the minister and churchwardens there, or if no registers be kept or found there, by some other means sufficiently attested.

II. That they will not admit or institute any person who hath been formerly ordained, to cure of souls, unless it appear by a like testimonial, that when he was ordained he was of canonical age; none but those who are so ordained being by the late Act of Uniformity and the statute 13 Eliz. c. 12. § 5. capable to be admitted to any benefice with cure.

III. That they will ordain no man deacon or priest, who hath not taken some degree of school in one of the universities of this realm; unless the archbishop, in some extraordinary case, and upon the express desire and request of the bishop ordaining, shall think fit to dispense with this particular, the person so to be dispensed with, being in all things else qualified, as the said thirty-fourth canon requires.

IV. That they will ordain none but such as either have lived within their respective dioceses for the three years last past, and are, upon their own personal knowledge, or by the testimony of three of the neighbouring ministers whom they think fit to rely upon, found to be worthy of what they pretend to, or also do exhibit sufficient and authentic testimony thereof from the bishop, or bishops, within whose jurisdiction they have resided for the last three years, or from some college in one of the universities in which they are or lately have been gremials; to the end that there may be (by one or more of these methods) sufficient moral assurance to the bishop, by competent witnesses, of the good life and conversation of the persons to be ordained, for full three years last past as the said canon requires. And the

archbishop does declare, that he will not give any man, beneficed in one diocese, a faculty to take and hold a benefice in another, unless the bishop, in whose diocese he is already beneficed, doth give him a fair dimission and testimony, together with his express consent to that very purpose.

V. That they will admit none to holy orders but such as are presented to some ecclesiastical preferment then void in that diocese, or have some other title specified and allowed in the thirty-third canon; among which a curacy under a parson or vicar, during his pleasure, is not to be accounted to be one, unless that parson or vicar doth, under his hand and seal, and before witnesses, oblige himself to the bishop both to accept that person *bona fide* (when he shall be ordained and licensed by the bishop) to serve under him, and assist him, and also to allow him such salary as the bishops shall approve of, so long as he shall continue doing his duty there; and, lastly, not to put him out of that employment, but for reasons to be allowed by the bishop.

VI. That they will ordain no man, who hath a title allowed by the canon, if the benefice to which that title relates lie within another diocese, except he exhibit letters dimissory from the bishop, in whose diocese his title and employment is.

VII. That they will ordain no man but upon the Lord's days immediately following the *jejunia quatuor temporum*, except he have a faculty to be ordained *extra tempora*; and such a faculty the archbishop declares he will not grant, but upon very urgent occasion, as (for instance) if one who is not in full orders be presented to some benefice; for of it, since the last Act of Uniformity, he is not capable, till he be ordained priest.

VIII. That they will ordain no man (of what qualities or gifts soever) both deacon and priest in one day; nor any man priest, until he shall have continued in the office of a deacon the space of a whole year, and behaved himself faithfully and diligently in the same. And if, upon urgent occasion, it shall, for reasonable causes, seem good unto the bishop to shorten that time, yet, even in that case, there being four times of ordination in the year, he shall give the deacon's order in the end of one Ember week; and (if the case may bear that delay) the priest's

order not till the next ensuing; or, in the utmost necessity, not till the Sunday, or holiday next following; and that too, not without a faculty. But in the same day none shall be made both deacon and priest, that some decent shadow, at least, or footstep of so ancient and laudable a practice may be retained and observed amongst us.

IX. That they will ordain none but such as shall, a full month before the day of ordination, bring or send to the bishop notice in writing of their desire to enter into holy orders, together with such certificate of their age, and such testimonials of their behaviour and conversation, as are above required; to the end that the bishop may (if he think fit) make further inquiry into all particulars, and also give open monitions to all men to except against such as they may perhaps know not to be worthy, as it is expressly required by that excellent canon 1564, and may be performed, as otherwise, so generally by affixing a schedule of the names of the candidates upon the doors of the cathedral, for as long time before as they are given in: nor any but such as shall also repair personally to the bishop in the beginning of the Ember week, or on Thursday in that week at the latest, to the end that there may be time for the strict and careful examination of every person so to be ordained, both by the archdeacon, and by the bishop himself, and such other as shall assist him at the imposition of hands, or he shall think fit to employ herein; and that they may also be present in the cathedral, and observe the solemn fast, and join in the solemn prayers, which are at that time to be put up to God in their behalf.

X. Lastly, That some time in the week, after every ordination, whether *intra* or *extra tempora*, the bishop ordaining shall send a certificate under his hand and seal, attested by the archdeacon, and such other clergymen as assisted at the ordination, containing the names and surnames of all the persons then ordained, the place of their birth, their age, the college where they were educated, with the degree they have taken in the university, the title upon which they are ordained, and upon whose letters dimissory, if they came out of another diocese; to which shall be subjoined a particular account of all such as then offered themselves to ordination, and were refused; as also of the

reasons for which the bishop refused them. All which the archbishop doth undertake and promise to cause to be entered into a ledger book for that purpose, to the end that it may be, as it were *ecclesie matricula* for this province.

W. ASAPH.

W. CANT.

WILLIAM NORWICH.

FRAN. ELY.

THO. BATH ET WELLS.

But our attention must now be turned to the state of public affairs, in which the interests of the Church were materially concerned. Notwithstanding King James's professions on ascending the throne, he soon gave no equivocal proofs of his designs against the Protestant religion, by surrounding himself with Popish counsellors, and pursuing a course of measures, the tendency of which could not be mistaken. The Protestant clergy, excited by the tone of increased confidence which the Papists assumed, and the eagerness with which they endeavoured to propagate their tenets, naturally felt it their duty to augment their exertions in justifying, in their public discourses, the great principles of the Reformation, in pointing out in forcible terms the errors of the Roman Catholic Church, and in defending their own faith at those points at which it was most violently assailed. The effect of this zeal and activity on the part of the clergy of the Established Church was felt by the Papists as a powerful obstacle to the accomplishment of their hopes; and some measure appeared necessary to restrain them in the course which they were thus actively pursuing. With this view, James published directions* to the archbishops, to be through them conveyed to the clergy, "to prohibit their preaching on controversial points." The pretended object was to allay the heats and animosities which prevailed among Christians of different sects; but the real design was too plain to be mistaken, that of silencing the Protestant

* Bearing date, March 25, 1684. See KENNETT'S *History*, v. iii. p. 454. These directions had been before published by Charles II. at the beginning of his reign, with the real design of

calming the violent religious heats which then prevailed. They were now adopted by James with a very different design.

clergy, in order that the active zeal of the Roman Catholics might have free scope for producing its effect.

But the ministers of the Established Church were not to be restrained from doing their duty on points where conscientious feeling was so deeply concerned, by an authority to which, in such a matter, they could not defer. In proportion as they saw the designs against their religion gradually developed, and assuming a less doubtful character, they redoubled their activity in endeavouring to fix deeply on the minds of their congregations principles of firm attachment to the Protestant cause. No period, in fact, has occurred since the Reformation, in which the learning and talents of eminent members of the Church have been more zealously employed in justifying the grounds on which that church stands, and in defending its doctrines and discipline against the Papists. A contemporary writer* remarks, "Notwithstanding this ensnaring letter of King James, the clergy of the Church of England were not wanting to their duty. For to their immortal honour, they did more to vindicate the doctrine of their own Church, and expose the errors of the Church of Rome, both in their sermons and their writings, than ever had been done, either at home or abroad, since the Reformation; and in such a style, and with such an inimitable force of reasoning, as will be a standard of writing to succeeding ages." The discourses and other writings, which were then composed, form collectively perhaps the most powerful bulwark against those adversaries, which has even been produced. They have been collected under the title of a *Preservative against Popery*†, in three folio volumes; and form a highly valuable repository of theological learning, most creditable to the erudition, the zeal, and the industry of the members of our national Church.

King James, however, was not to be turned from his purpose by ordinary obstacles. Finding that his directions to the clergy failed in the designed effect of inducing them to forego the defence of their religion, he had recourse, in the next year, 1686‡,

* Quoted in KENNETT's *History*,
v. iii. p. 454.

† Ibid.

‡ There is some ambiguity as to the

date of this Commission. In KENNETT's *History*, (iii. 456), it is stated, that although it was granted in the beginning of April, yet it was not

to a more powerful engine for reducing them to subjection and obedience; viz., the establishment of a Commission for the purpose of inquiring into, and punishing, ecclesiastical offences. The powers given to the members of this Commission were of the most formidable character; they could summon before them persons of any rank in the Church, could proceed upon mere suspicion, could punish by suspension, privation, and excommunication; and they were directed to execute diligently their office, "notwithstanding any laws or statutes of the realm." Respecting this Commission, Evelyn justly remarks that the Commissioners were authorized to take upon them full power of all ecclesiastical affairs, in as unlimited a manner, or rather greater, than the late High Commission Court abrogated by Parliament; for it had not only the faculty to inspect and visit all bishops, but to change what laws and statutes they should think fit to alter in the colleges of the Universities; to punish, suspend, and fine, administer oaths, and call witnesses*.

The appointment of this Commission was generally felt to be a direct attack on the liberties of the country, and an illegal assumption of authority on the part of the crown. The immediate design, too, with which it was appointed, that of intimidating and humbling the Protestant clergy, was too clear to be mistaken. It is true that the power of delegating ecclesiastical authority to commissioners, had been exercised by the first Protestant sovereigns of England, and had been sanctioned by an express statute in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign; yet the exercise of it had been conducted with so much severity, and had given rise to so many arbitrary exactions, that an express repeal of this statute was enacted, in the 17th of Charles I. In this repealing act, it was declared, that the clause empowering the sovereign to commission any person to exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction should be void for ever, and that no new court pretending to such jurisdiction should ever be established.

In order to lull the suspicions of the people respecting the design with which the Commission was instituted, and to dimi-

opened till the beginning of August. | Privy Seal, affixed the seal to it on the
 Evelyn states in his *Diary*, that he, | 14th of July.
 as one of the Commissioners of the | * EVELYN'S *Diary*, July 14, 1686.

nish the unpopularity of the measure, King James named as commissioners three prelates of the Church, the Archbishop of Canterbury; Crew, bishop of Durham; and Sprat, bishop of Rochester: but, on the other hand, among the four lay commissioners some, it is stated, were Roman Catholics; and, what was most important to his views, Jeffreys, then Lord Chancellor, was one of them, whose consent was made absolutely necessary to render valid any act of the Commission.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, without hesitation, declined to act in this Commission. He alleged, as his nominal plea, his great age and infirmities; but there cannot be the slightest doubt that his real objection was to the measure itself, and that he spurned at the idea of being made a tool for assisting in the purposes which the measure was intended to promote. He deemed it, however, preferable, on various grounds, to suffer his real motives to be inferred by the king, than directly to express them.

The following are the terms of his petition to the king, in which he declined the appointment*.

“TO THE KING’S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY,

“The humble Petition of William, Archbishop of Canterbury,

“Showeth,—That your petitioner hath now almost completed the three-score and tenth year of his life; that the infirmities which usually attend so great an age are already (and grow daily more and more) upon him; that the affairs of the Church within the province of Canterbury are so many and so great, that they require all the application and diligence which any one person (though of better health, and greater vigour of body and mind than your petitioner is,) can possibly use: your petitioner, therefore, with the most profound submission, throwing himself down at your majesty’s feet, most humbly and earnestly beseecheth your majesty, that you would be pleased graciously to

* See Appendix to CLARENDON’S *Diary*, from Tanner’s Papers. This petition is there given without a date. Although the archbishop may have learnt from general rumour that such a Commission was prepared, and that

he was to be appointed one of the commissioners, yet his petition to the king declining to act, must have been subsequent to July 14, the day when the seal was affixed.

dispense with his attendance upon the execution of your late commission for causes ecclesiastical, in which so many great and able persons are engaged; to the end he may the better mind those things which belong to his single care, and have the more leisure, without obstruction, as to bless God for this your royal indulgence, so also to pray continually for all the blessings of heaven to be showered down upon your royal person, family, and government."

Bishop Burnet, who too frequently betrays a readiness to embrace every opportunity of throwing out invidious insinuations against Archbishop Sancroft, instead of giving him credit for refusing to be made a tool on this occasion in furthering the purposes of the king and the party which surrounded him, blames him for not having acted with all the energy and spirit which became him. He says, "Sancroft lay silent at Lambeth. He seemed zealous against Popery in private discourse, but he was of such a timorous temper, and so set on the enriching his nephew, that he showed no sort of courage. He would not go to this court when it was first opened, and declare against it, and give his reasons why he could not sit and act in it, judging it to be against law, but he contented himself with his not going to it*."

Here, in the first place, it is clear that Burnet was misinformed as to the fact. The archbishop did not content himself with not going to the Commission court; but he addressed, as we have seen, a petition to the king, excusing himself in respectful terms, on the ground of age and infirmities; thereby expressing, in terms not to be misunderstood by the king, his opinion of the Commission itself, and his clear disapprobation of the course of measures which it was intended to further. Whether it would have been more consistent with true courage and wisdom, to repair to the Commission court, and openly protest against it, as Burnet intimates he ought to have done, may admit of considerable doubt. On the one hand, it should be remembered that all the archbishop's prepossessions were in favour of supporting the royal prerogative: and it could be only by doing violence to the feelings instilled into his mind by education and habit, that

* BURNET'S *Own Times*, ii. 676.

he could ever be brought to take the part which he did, in opposition to King James. The archbishop probably thought, and wisely thought, that it is no light matter for a person in his station to set an example to the world of public and open opposition to the authority of his lawful sovereign; because what might be intended for good in this individual instance might be turned to purposes of evil by others, who would be ready to quote and to follow his example. He probably felt, that the necessity of the case ought fully to justify and to call for so strong a measure, before it was resorted to: and he hoped, no doubt, at this time, that the king was not so entirely given over to infatuated counsels, as to make avowed opposition absolutely necessary to turn him from them. If such was then his feeling and such his hope, it was clearly the line dictated by duty and by prudence, rather to signify his disapprobation in the manner he did, than publicly to declare it, and in direct terms, or with hasty violence, to protest against the measures of the king. On the other hand, it certainly did not become him, as head of the Church, and charged with its highest interests, to act a feeble or a secondary part on a great emergency; and if it had appeared to him, as perhaps it ought to have appeared, that by attending the Ecclesiastical Commission court, and giving publicly his protest against the measure itself, and its proceedings, he could effectually have served the great cause, which he had so much at heart, unquestionably he ought, in defiance of all consequences to himself, to have taken that course. It must not be concealed that Sir James Mackintosh*, a candid writer, and a very competent judge, in relating these transactions, considers that the archbishop, by abstaining from attending as a Commissioner in his place, and from protesting against the legality of the Commission, failed in taking that straightforward and decisive course which became a person occupying the station which he filled; and that, in the earlier proceedings of this court, his interference might have led to a very important result.

As to the insinuations made by Bishop Burnet respecting the archbishop's timorous nature and want of courage, his subsequent conduct in firmly opposing the attempts of the king against the

* See MACKINTOSH'S *History of the Revolution*, p. 89.

civil and religious liberties of the nation, when his perseverance in evil counsels made such opposition absolutely necessary, must, in the judgment of every impartial person, fully exempt him from such a charge, and ought to have saved him from the illiberal imputation of it. The assertion of the archbishop's having been too much engaged in attending to the private emoluments of his family, to take the part which became him in the line of his public duties, may be safely considered as a mere gratuitous assertion, entirely destitute of proof. No trace is to be found in any part of his history, of his having betrayed, to any faulty excess, an avaricious disposition; but, on the contrary, various and splendid instances are recorded, of his free and disinterested liberality.

It sufficiently appears, from Archbishop Sancroft's papers*, that he did not lightly come to a decision on this important matter; but that, as was his habit on all occasions, he took great pains in endeavouring to form a correct opinion, by inquiring into the state of the law, perusing with attention all that was to be urged on both sides of the question, and noting the arguments and observations which occurred to himself. Copious collections relating to this subject are still extant, written with his own hand, containing, as appears, partly the statements and opinions of others, and partly his own. He considers that there were two points which concerned the line of conduct he should take: first, whether a subject was compellable generally, to serve even in a lawful matter without his free consent; and secondly, whether this Commission court was lawful or unlawful.—The following is a specimen of the manner in which he discusses it. After stating generally, the right of the state to the services of the subject, and after mentioning a case in which Coke and other judges refused to sit in the High Commission court, because it contained points against the laws; he proceeds†—

“But even in lawful commissions granted for the public good, who can tell me of any that ever was punished for refusing to be judge, sergeant at law, justice of peace, &c., or so much as questioned? Suppose a Commission of seven; any three being necessary, A being one of them: if A sit not, he is punishable,

* See Tann. MSS. v. 400.

† Ibid. v. 400. p. 149.

because it would cause a failure of justice, which the law abhors. But, if A sits, and any two with him, the proceedings are not retarded, the Commission may be executed, and the neglecters not punishable. And this Coke pleaded for his refusing to sit in the High Commission (*inter alia*) because there were other judges and commissioners enough to speed it.

"Now he that gives Coke's reason for not sitting in the present High Commission (that is, because it is unlawful,) pleads to the jurisdiction of the court, which is a ticklish thing. For he will be overruled, and at last pronounced *contumax*, and all alleged against him will be taken *pro confesso*. Notwithstanding, the question remains, whether the new court be lawful or no. It seems not, because the statute 17 Ch. I. not only takes away the then High Commission court, but also prohibits for the future, any new court to be erected with the like powers and authorities. Now the powers granted by this new Commission are the same which the former commissioners had, by virtue of the statute 1 Eliz. c. 1.; and by consequence, the exercise of them is illegal, and all acts, sentences and decrees thereupon, utterly void, and of no effect in law."

In the beginning of August, when the Ecclesiastical Commission was first called into active operation, the temper and spirit in which its proceedings were conducted were shown to be of such a nature as to justify, to the fullest extent, the propriety of the archbishop's conduct in refusing absolutely to have any concern in it; if they were not sufficient to call upon him to protest firmly against it, and to come forward with an active and vigorous opposition.

The instance in which the Commission was first brought into action, is the well-known case of Compton, bishop of London*. The king, in his anxiety to suppress the activity of the clergy in

* Hume, in relating these events, speaks of the Ecclesiastical Commission, as an expedient employed for the purpose of punishing the Bishop of London; as if it was instituted after the commission of his offences. But the fact is, that the Commission court was established, as has here been stated,

in the beginning of April, for the general purpose of enforcing the measures of the king; while the king's letter to the Bishop of London respecting Dr. Sharp, which led to the proceedings against him, is dated on the 14th of the following June.

directing their discourses at this peculiar juncture against the errors of Popery, had required the bishop to suspend Dr. J. Sharp*, rector of St. Giles's, an able and popular preacher, for having preached in defence of the Protestant cause, and in opposition to Popery, in a manner which was interpreted into an endeavour "to beget in the minds of his hearers, an ill opinion of the king's government, to dispose them to discontent, and lead them to rebellion." On the bishop's refusing to do so, on the ground that he could not conscientiously condemn and punish any individual without citation, and regular process of law, he was summoned before the Commission to answer for this offence of contempt of the king's authority. He at first pleaded against the jurisdiction of the court; and on this plea being overruled defended himself against the charge of contempt by showing, that he really did comply with the king's injunction, as far as he legally and conscientiously could; for he immediately desired Dr. Sharp to desist from preaching altogether, till the legal inquiry into his conduct could take place. But all was to no purpose, when the determination was already formed to strike terror into the clergy, by punishing one in so eminent a station. A sentence of the court passed, by which the bishop was suspended from all his episcopal functions and jurisdiction. This sentence was obtained with great difficulty, and with very divided suffrages, from the members of the court who attended, even though those members were all of the king's appointment, and many of them known to be merely subservient creatures of his will. It is stated†, that some of them finally gave their votes contrary to their declared conviction. It certainly does appear, that in this state of things, the presence or the public protest of the Archbishop of Canterbury might have reversed the decision.

An opinion generally prevailed, that there existed an intention of citing the Archbishop of Canterbury before the Ecclesiastical Commission; and when it is considered that the direct object of the court was to proceed by intimidation, and that the archbishop, by declining to sit in the Commission, must have given great offence to the king and his advisers, it is highly probable that there was some foundation for the rumour. What pretence of a

* Afterwards Archbishop of York. † SIR JAMES MACKINTOSH, p. 70.

charge was to be alleged against him, has never been stated ; but experience has always shown that, when arbitrary power is bent on pursuing its measures, it is never long at a loss for a pretence on which those measures may be founded. It is certain that the archbishop himself expected to be cited before the Commission. With a view to this, he kept a paper by him ready drawn up, protesting against the jurisdiction of the court. It is known that he disapproved of the course taken by the Bishop of London, who, after his plea against the jurisdiction of the court was overruled, pleaded to the charges brought against him, and thereby, in effect, allowed the authority of the court. The archbishop's intention was first to protest against the legality of the court ; then to refuse to answer before it to the charges brought against him ; and afterwards to defend himself at common law, against any sentence which might be passed. It has been stated, that it was generally known that such was the course the archbishop intended to pursue ; and that the fear of the consequence of this proceeding, was the reason for which he was not cited.

Sprat, bishop of Rochester, who at first sat as one of the commissioners, but afterwards declined, and, subsequently to the Revolution, published an apology for his conduct, states, that among other eminent instances in which he successfully laboured to relieve the clergy from oppression, is "one which concerns my Lord of Canterbury." He says, "I am confident his Grace would bear testimony that I served him honestly and industriously on some occasions, when he was likely to be embroiled with the Commission ; which from the course he designed to pursue, would inevitably have ended in his suspension at least." From the expression here used, it would seem that the Commission court advanced beyond the vague disposition to attack the archbishop, and that some ground of process against him was either begun or determined on : at least, that some intimations of the intention were openly made. All that is certain is, that no steps were actually taken, and that the archbishop never was summoned to appear before them.

This refusal of Archbishop Sancroft to sit in the Ecclesiastical Commission appears to have given great offence to King James, having been well understood by him in the sense which it was

tended to convey: and it seems to be certain* that, from about this period, the archbishop was forbidden to appear at court. Notwithstanding the displeasure which the king may have felt against the archbishop, when he found that he could not make him a ready tool for promoting his views, yet there can be no doubt that he must always have had a high respect for his general character, and confidence in his integrity. As a proof of this, we find that he had recently requested the archbishop's opinion as to some vacant appointments in the Church; accordingly, we find the following letter amongst his papers, which manifestly conveys his reply to such a request. In writing this letter, the archbishop could not be otherwise than aware that, in the unhappy state of things respecting the Church which now prevailed, and under the counsels to which the king was now devoted, there was great danger of his nominating persons most unworthy of these eminent stations, and whose appointment would be most injurious to the Church. In consequence, as the application had been made to him from such a quarter, he must have rejoiced in the opportunity thus afforded of making the recommendation of persons whom he deemed well qualified to do credit to the proposed situations, although, perhaps, under the circumstances, he could have had no great hope that the recommendations would receive attention. The letter† which he addressed to the king on the subject was expressed in the following terms.

“ May it please your sacred Majesty,

July 29, 1686.

“ When last I had the happiness to attend upon your majesty, you were most graciously pleased so far to descend as to demand the advice of your poor servant for the filling of three vacancies now in the Church, and to allow me time to consider of it. I would not have presumed to have given my answer otherwise than at the feet of my sovereign lord, had not my age and infirmities, some of which are come upon me even since I was last at Hampton Court, disabled me for the journey. As it is, with all humility, I beg your majesty's pardon that I take the

* See the account of the presentation of the bishops' petition in Arch-

bishop Sancroft's hand-writing.—Tann. MSS. v. 29.

† See Tann. MSS. v. 30. 20. 69.

boldness to represent as followeth. The episcopal chair of Oxford will be most decently and worthily filled with that person whom your majesty mentioned, Dr. South. His merit is every way so great, that I have nothing to wish but that the revenue of the place were as worthy of him as he is of the place. But your majesty may, if you please, supply that defect by what you shall allow him to hold with it in *commendam*. For Christ's church, it is a most flourishing society, and hath bred vast numbers of worthy persons fit for any station in the Church; but I am a stranger there, and yet, I will be bold to say, with some confidence, that there are not in that great multitude two more excellent persons better qualified to supply any vacancy there than Dr. Hody* of Lambeth, and Mr. Wigan of Kensington. To the bishopric of Chester, I dare recommend to your majesty him whom I formerly commended (as your majesty may remember) to the see of St. David's; for I have not a worse opinion of him than I had, but a better. My Lord High Chancellor, were he not over-generous, might have done this office decently enough, as I do it, who present the person to your majesty, as Dr. Jeffreys, a very worthy clergyman, not as my Lord Chancellor's brother. Yet one thing, I trust, my lord will not refuse to do for him. The diocese is very large, and the yearly income but narrow, without the parsonage of Wigan; and that hangs so loose from it that the trustees may give it to whom they please. But I doubt not, his lordship's powerful hand may fix it and secure it to the bishop.

"And now let not my sovereign be displeased, nor count me over bold, and I will adventure one step further. A petition for the founding and endowing of your majesty's school, and establishing a course of perpetual public prayers there, (wherein your majesty's royal person, family and government will be morning and evening recommended to the blessings of heaven,) at Harlston in Norfolk, was some time since presented to your majesty. The matter of it, I am secure, is both just and charitable, and the manner of it, I hope, not immodest. I beseech

* Humphrey Hody, then known as the learned author of a *Dissertation on the Septuagint Version*. He was afterwards chaplain to Archbishop Tillotson;

but at this time he appears to have had no connexion with Lambeth except by accidental residence.

you, sir, pronounce your final resolution upon it, which cannot displease or grieve me whatever it may be: for I shall rather love a denial from your majesty, than a grant from my fellow subject: being, as

“I am, may it please your majesty,

“Your most humble, faithful, and obedient.

“Subject and servant,

“W. CANT.”

It will not be deemed surprising that King James, under his existing views and designs, instead of accepting the archbishop's recommendation of persons qualified to adorn these stations, should rather place in them those who were likely to be convenient tools in forwarding his purposes adverse to the interests of the Protestant Church. The individuals appointed to fill the bishoprics were, Parker to that of Oxford, and Cartwright to that of Chester. Bishop Burnet says, that they were the two worst men that could be selected, and that they were pitched upon as the fittest instruments that could be found among the clergy to betray and ruin the Church. All historians agree that they were persons rather calculated to degrade the situations, than to fill them with credit; and it was fully proved, during the subsequent events, that they were prepared to support to any extent the designs of the court against the Church. So unpopular were these appointments, that an intention seems to have existed at one time, on the part of the leading persons in the Church, of endeavouring to prevent their taking effect. Bishop Burnet states, that “some of the bishops brought to Archbishop Sancroft articles against them, which they desired he would offer to the king in council, and pray that the mandate for consecrating them might be delayed till time was given to examine particulars.” He adds that Bishop Lloyd told him “that Sancroft promised him not to consecrate them till he had examined the truth of the articles, of which some were too scandalous to be repeated. Yet, when Sancroft saw what danger he might incur, if he were sued in a premunire, he consented to consecrate them.”

As we have no knowledge of this transaction from any other source, we have no means of ascertaining what really did take

place; and whether Archbishop Sancroft deemed the articles of sufficient importance to be laid before the king in council. It is probable that there is some mistake in the assertion of his having promised not to consecrate till he had examined the truth of the articles; for this would have been nothing less than to assume to himself a negative on the appointments of the crown; and it must have been well known to him that a legal process would at once compel him to obey the mandate for the consecration. The two new bishops were consecrated in the chapel at Lambeth Palace on the 17th of October.

The appointment made by the king to the deanery of Christchurch was of a still worse description. The person nominated was John Massey, a Papist; and, what does not appear to have been known at the time, the king granted a dispensation to enable him to be admitted to the deanery without taking the oaths*.

An instance occurred soon after, in which Archbishop Sancroft felt himself called upon, on a less public and important occasion than that in which he afterwards acted, to unite with other leading persons in opposing the dispensing power illegally assumed by James.

A letter† was addressed by the king to the governors of the Charterhouse, requiring them to admit one Andrew Popham to the situation of a pensioner in that hospital, on his nomination, "without tendering any oath or oaths to him, or requiring of him any subscription or recognition or other act or acts in conformity to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England—and notwithstanding any statute, order, or constitution in the said hospital."

This letter, bearing date 17th December, was referred to a meeting of the governors on the 7th of the following January, when the Archbishop of Canterbury presided. The Lord Chancellor Jeffreys moved that they should immediately proceed to vote for the admission. On this, Dr. T. Burnet‡, then Master of the Charterhouse, who was to give the first vote, explained to

* See Tann. MSS. v. 460. No. 99, at the Charterhouse, supposed to be
and GURCHIN'S *Miscell. Curiosa*, v. i. written by Dr. Burnet.
p. 294.

‡ Author of the *Theory of the Earth*,
1681.

† See an account of proceedings

the meeting that to admit a person without taking the oaths was contrary both to the constitutions of the house and to an express Act of Parliament. The question was then put and carried in the negative.

As soon as this was decided, the lord chancellor, and those who were disappointed by this vote, left the room suddenly, so that there were not sufficient persons left to transact the business; otherwise it was the wish of those governors who refused to comply with the king's letter, to draw up immediately an answer to it, assigning their reasons for refusing. The king afterwards sent them a second letter on the subject. The Archbishop of Canterbury tried several times to collect another meeting, but did not succeed till the 24th of the following June; when a letter was agreed upon to be addressed to the Earl of Middleton, Secretary of State, who was requested to convey the matter of it to the king. In this, after reciting the purport of the two letters they had received from the king, they proceed—'These letters were received with the respect due to whatsoever cometh from his majesty. And it hath not been any fault of ours, that an answer hath not been sooner returned; several assemblies having been appointed in order to it, but there were not, at those times, so many governors in or about town in a condition to attend, as would make up the number directed by the constitutions. We could not till now acquaint your lordship that, upon debate of the aforesaid letters, it is agreed to represent, in the most humble manner, to his majesty, by your lordship's means and through your hands, that we apprehend ourselves to be tied up, and to lie under such strict obligations that we are not at liberty to comply with what is required of us, for these reasons:

"That the said hospital is of a private foundation, and the governors obliged to act according to the constitutions of the same;

"That, by an Act of Parliament made in the 3rd year of Charles I., of blessed memory, it is enacted, that every poor man to be elected and admitted into the said hospital shall, before he receive the benefit of any such place, take the oaths of supremacy and allegiance.

"Therefore, we pray your lordship to represent to his ma-

jesty, that we conceive we cannot, with a faithful discharge of our trust, admit the said Andrew Popham. This we pray your lordship to represent to his majesty in the most humble manner ; whereby you will extremely oblige

“ W. CANT.”

And seven others, whose names are subscribed.]

This respectful and temperate letter did not produce the desired effect, of inducing the king to desist from his purpose. It is stated that he desired the lord chancellor to devise some mode of maintaining his rights, and that various threats were held out of severe proceedings in preparation against the disobedient governors. However, greater events intervened, and the affair was never prosecuted.

In the course of the ensuing year, Archbishop Sancroft received the following letter* from Mary Princess of Orange, and afterwards Queen of England. It attests, in a remarkable manner, the strong interest she even at that time took in the welfare of the English Church, and her satisfaction at the disposition shown by the clergy to maintain its doctrines and its discipline.

“ TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

“ *Loo, October 1st, 1687.*

“ Though I have not the advantage to know you, my lord of Canterbury, yet the reputation you have makes me resolve not to lose this opportunity of making myself more known to you, than I could have been yet. Dr. Stanley can assure you, that I take more interest in what concerns the Church of England than myself; and that one of the greatest satisfactions I can have, is to hear how that all the clergy show themselves as firm to their religion, as they have always been to their king; which makes me confident God will preserve His Church, since He has so well provided it with able men. I have nothing more to say, but beg your prayers, and desire you will do me the justice to believe I shall be very glad of any occasion to show the esteem and veneration I have for you.

“ MARIE.”

* See Tann. MSS. v. 29. No. 54.

To this letter the archbishop sent the following reply* ; being remarkable no less for the simplicity of its expression than for the excellent strain of pious feeling in which it is written ; and strongly evincing how deeply his heart was struck with grief and anxiety for the dangers which threatened to overwhelm the Protestant Church.

“*Lambeth House, Nov. 3rd, 1687.*”

“May it please your Royal Highness,

“The high and dear esteem you have of the Church and holy religion established amongst us, so emphatically declared in your letter with which you were lately pleased to honour me, and the full assurance which further Dr. Stanley gives us, that you hold this pious good affection towards (us), in common with that great and excellent prince in whose bosom you lie, are mighty strong and rich consolations, which, as we never needed more than now, so could they never come more seasonable or welcome to us. It hath seemed good to the Infinite Wisdom to exercise this poor Church with trials of all sorts and of all degrees. But the greatest calamity that ever befell us, was that it pleased God, in his wise and just providence, to permit wicked and ungodly men, after they had barbarously murdered the father, to

* Tann. MSS. v. 20. No. 71. The editor of *Miscellanea Curiosa* (Oxf. 1781.) states that this answer of Archbishop Sancroft to the princess was “probably never sent.” But in asserting this he is probably mistaken. He grounds the assertion on a letter subsequently written by Dr. Stanley, then residing as chaplain to the princess, in which that clergyman states that, when he was in England in 1687, he requested the archbishop to write to the princess, to encourage her still to give countenance to the Church of England ; but “*he was pleased not to write to her* ; a circumstance in which he afterwards rejoiced, when he recollected that such a letter might have been construed into an invitation to the Prince and Princess of Orange to

come to England.” But here Dr. Stanley manifestly refers to a letter which he wished the archbishop to write of his own accord, expressly for the purpose of encouraging the princess to the continued support of the Church. The letter now quoted is merely an answer to that which she had sent, and contains no further encouragement to future support of the Church than is conveyed in the gratitude expressed for the past. Common courtesy required that he should acknowledge her letter by some answer ; and, as that which is now found among his papers bears every mark of having been prepared for the purpose, and is even corrected with considerable care, there seems no room for any reasonable doubt as to its having been sent.

drive out the sons from abiding in the inheritance of the Lord, as if they had said to them, Go and serve other gods. The dreadful effects hereof we still feel every moment, but must not, nay, we cannot, particularly express. And though all this (were it yet much more) cannot in the least shake or alter our steady loyalty to our sovereign and the royal family, in the legal succession of it, yet it embitters the very comforts that are left us; it blasts all our present joys, and makes us sit down with sorrow in dust and ashes. Blessed be God, who in so dark and dismal a night hath caused some dawn of light to break forth upon us from the Eastern shore, in the constancy and good affection of your royal highness and the excellent prince towards us; for, if this should fail us too, which the God of heaven and earth forbid, our hearts must surely break. And, as our thanksgivings for you both go up before God continually, so we all pray for you without ceasing, that God would crown you with all the blessings of heaven and earth. He hath inspired your royal highness (with Mary in the Gospel) to choose the better part, and I trust it will never be taken from you. Be faithful unto the death and He will give a crown of life. In the close of all, your royal highness's personal but most undeserved grace and favour to your poor unworthy servant must not be forgotten; by which you have put new life into a dying old man, ready to sink under the double burden of age and sorrow, but (who) will, so long as God holds his soul in life, continue indeclinably to be what he is upon so many obligations, (may it please your royal highness,)

“ Your most devoted faithful servant,

“ And daily orator at the Throne of Grace,

“ W. C.”

It was in the month of January 1687-88, that Archbishop Sancroft first became acquainted with the very learned Henry Wharton, and gave him assurances of his future patronage and favours. This extraordinary young man, then little more than twenty-three years of age, had distinguished himself in a remarkable manner by several proofs of his great talents and extensive erudition. In particular, he had actively assisted in the controversy now carried on against the Papists, and recently published

an original treatise of great merit on the celibacy of the clergy, and also a translation from the Latin, with some alterations, of a treatise concerning the incurable scepticism of the church of Rome. The archbishop seems to have first noticed him solely on account of his character and merits; he warmly encouraged him to pursue his studies; and some time after placed in his hands the manuscript of Usher's dogmatical *History of the Scriptures*, desiring him to superintend the publication of it. Mr. Wharton appears to have been a man of incredible industry, having engaged in, and completed a great number of literary works during his short life. He always gave the whole credit of the successful pursuit of his studies to his distinguished patron, Archbishop Sancroft, who, as he states, incited him to diligent perseverance by every species of encouragement. In the following May, the archbishop gave Mr. Wharton, at his own request, what he had never granted to any one before, a license to preach through the whole of his province. In the ensuing September, he made him one of his domestic chaplains, and in proof of his favour, signified his intention of collating him to the living of Sundridge in Kent; but, shortly after, instead of this benefice, he collated him to the vicarage of Minster, which happened to fall vacant. To this he afterwards added another living, that of Chartham; but was prevented by his deprivation from conferring on him some higher preferments which he designed. Mr. Wharton appears to have felt the full force of the obligations he owed to his venerable patron, and continued ever after to evince towards him the greatest attention and respect. It will hereafter appear that, after the archbishop's deprivation and retirement into the country, Mr. Wharton paid him frequent visits till the time of his death, and made constant tenders of his services and assistance. Mr. Wharton died in March, 1695, in the thirty-first year of his age.

During the whole of the year 1687, and the early part of 1688, the archbishop remained a silent, though not an unobserving, spectator of the progress of those violent and arbitrary measures, by which his misguided sovereign was forfeiting the allegiance and good opinion of the greater part of his subjects; endeavouring to undermine the foundations of the Protestant

Church amongst them, as by law established, and rooted deeply in their affections; and hastening his own downfall. He had seen the king steadily pursuing his purpose by embracing every opportunity of placing persons of the Roman Catholic persuasion in situations of trust and authority; filling his court and his army with persons of that persuasion; dispensing, by his own authority, and in a manner directly contrary to law, with oaths and qualifications for office; dismissing in an arbitrary manner those amongst the judges of the land who were unwilling to interpret the laws to the support of his views; selecting for the higher stations in the Church persons whose character was likely to bring contempt on their situation, or to make them supple tools in his hands for advancing his purposes. All this the archbishop had seen with deep sorrow; but, as he had not been called upon to take any active part, the opportunity had not occurred of his interfering personally to stay the torrent, which was threatening in so fearful a manner to destroy the foundations of the Protestant Church. At last, an occasion arose, on which, as he and his brethren on the episcopal bench were required to take a personal part in promoting the king's measures hostile to the Church, he felt himself called upon, by feelings of conscientious duty, to act with promptness and decision, in counteraction of those measures, and in opposition to the sovereign. And he obeyed the call in a manner worthy at once of the cause which he supported, of the high station which he filled, and of his own character.

CHAPTER VI.

FROM THE ISSUING THE DECLARATION FOR LIBERTY OF
CONSCIENCE TO THE CONCLUSION OF THE TRIAL OF
THE SEVEN BISHOPS.

Declaration for Liberty of Conscience—Order for the Clergy to read it—Active Measures of the Archbishop respecting it—Meetings of the Clergy at Lambeth Palace—Petition of the Seven Bishops—Appearances before the King and Council—Commitments to the Tower—Trial—Acquittal—Rejoicings and Congratulations thereupon.

THE order published from the King in Council, May 4th, 1688, directing the archbishops and bishops to send to the clergy in their respective dioceses the Declaration for Liberty of Conscience, to be publicly read in all the churches of the kingdom, made it impossible for the Archbishop of Canterbury to abstain any longer from engaging in an open and declared opposition to the counsels under which the king was now unhappily acting.

The Declaration for Liberty of Conscience, in which the king claimed the illegal power of dispensing with the penal laws against Dissenters, and which, though bearing the outward pretence of tenderness to the consciences of all Dissenters, yet was well understood, and notoriously intended, as a measure for favouring exclusively the Catholic party, had been first published in the spring of 1687. At that time, however, although it was received with strong general disapprobation, yet, as no persons were required to assist in the publication of it, or to take any steps by which they were made instruments in enforcing it, it excited no declared opposition or resistance. Not satisfied with this, the king again published the same Declaration*, on the 27th of April, in the following year, to prove, as he stated in the words introducing it, that his intentions remained unchanged since

* It is certain that the Declaration for Liberty of Conscience was opposed to the general feeling of the people. Still there were not wanting some few towns and corporations which voted to the king addresses of thanks for it.—

See the Gazettes of those times. Among other addresses, is one inserted in the Gazette, (May 3rd, 1688,) from "the old dissenting officers and soldiers of the county of Lincoln."

the preceding year. A week after the Declaration was published, he astonished the nation by the following order, requiring all the clergy to read it in their churches.

"At the Court at Whitehall, May 4th.

"It is this day ordered by his Majesty in Council, that his Majesty's late gracious Declaration, bearing date the 27th of April last, be read at the usual time of divine service, on the 20th and 27th of this month, in all churches and chapels, within the cities of London and Westminster, and ten miles thereabout; and upon the 3rd and 10th of June next, in all other churches and chapels throughout this kingdom. And it is hereby further ordered, that the Right Reverend the Bishops cause the said Declaration to be sent and distributed throughout their several and respective dioceses, to be read accordingly *."

It can admit of no doubt that this order was intended for the

* Bishop Burnet takes occasion, in remarking on this order to the clergy, to make an ill-natured reflection on Archbishop Sancroft. He says, (see his *Own Times*, v. i. 735,) that "now was perceived the bad effect which was likely to follow from that officious motion of Sancroft, for obliging the clergy to read the king's Declaration, in 1681, after the dissolution of the Oxford parliament." That Declaration was a sort of appeal to the people on the part of the king, against the conduct of the three last parliaments towards him. Burnet states (*Ibid.* p. 500.) that, when this passed in council, Archbishop Sancroft moved that an order should be added, requiring the clergy to publish it in all the churches of England. It is certain that such an order was made, and that the clergy complied with it; but, that it was made at the express instance of Archbishop Sancroft, seems to rest on no other authority than that of Burnet.—Perhaps Hume is not very wrong, when he says,—“These orders (in Charles's time) were agreeable to their

(the clergy's) party prejudices, and they willingly submitted to them. The contrary was now (in James's time) the case.” The king's letter to Archbishop Sancroft, in 1681, conveying the order to the clergy, being a scarce document, is here subjoined.—See Lambeth MSS. v. 943. p. 827.

“CHARLES R.

“Most Reverend Father in God, right trusty and entirely beloved counsellor, we greet you well. Whereas, we have thought fit to publish a Declaration to all our loving subjects, touching the causes and reasons that moved us to dissolve the two last parliaments; and have likewise ordered the same to be read in all churches and chapels, throughout this our kingdom of England; our will and pleasure is, that you forthwith give such directions as have been usual in like cases, or as you shall judge most expedient and requisite in this, for the reading of our said Declaration, in all and every the churches and chapels, within your province of

express purpose of insulting and degrading the clergy. This body, it was known, highly disapproved the Declaration; they had given great offence to James, by the activity they had shown in their writings and discourses, in opposing the dissemination of Popery: and by their influence and exertions, they opposed the most effectual obstacles to the success of his designs. The device, therefore, of making them instrumental in forwarding a measure to which they were known to be decidedly adverse, seemed calculated, above every other, to gratify his resentment against them, and to humble them in the eyes of the people.

By whose advice this offensive order was made, has never been ascertained; but it was rumoured at the time that it originated from the suggestion of Father Petre *, a Roman Catholic priest, who, it was then well known, had frequent access to the king, and had acquired considerable influence over him. Rumour had also stated, that the Archbishopric of York, which had been kept vacant for the space of two years, had been designed by King James, for this same Popish priest. It was added, that Petre used on this occasion very contumelious expressions towards the clergy, in the exultation of his joy at making them instrumental to their own degradation, by actively concurring in forwarding a measure to which they felt conscientious objections.

As this order was regularly published in the *London Gazette*, and not conveyed in the usual manner to the archbishops and bishops, to be by them transmitted to the clergy in general, the eyes of the whole nation were at once fixed on the prelates of the Church; and all anxiously waited to see what course they would pursue on so trying an emergency; and as the order was to be acted on so promptly, no time was to be lost.

The parochial clergy who were to receive the order through their ecclesiastical superiors, naturally looked to them for advice and assistance in the emergency; and it was very generally felt that, if any resistance or expostulation was to take place, it was

Canterbury, at the time of divine service upon some Lord's day, and that the same be done with all convenient speed that may be. And so we bid you most heartily farewell. Given at our Court at Whitehall, the 11th day

of April, 1681, in the thirty-third year of our reign.

"By his Majesty's command,
"L. JENKINS."

* Mackintosh, p. 241.

obviously proper, on every ground, that it should begin with those prelates whose station would give weight to the expression of their opinions. Many of the bishops felt the full force of the call of duty which was made upon them, and promptly obeyed it; the Archbishop of Canterbury, in particular, took the lead, as became him, on the occasion; and, both in suggesting and in directing the measures which were taken, acted with a degree of spirit, activity, and decision, which reflects infinite credit on his character, and extorted unqualified praise even from Bishop Burnet*.

From the first publication of the obnoxious order, the archbishop seems to have employed himself in consulting with the most eminent of the clergy who were in or near London. At the same time, he addressed letters to those of the bishops in whose opinions he most confided, requesting them to come to London without delay. The following†, found among his papers, seems to be the form of letter which he dispatched to some or all of the absent bishops.

“ My Lord,

“ This is only in my own name, and in the name of some of our brethren now here upon the place, earnestly to desire you, immediately upon the receipt of this letter, to come hither with what convenient speed you can, not taking notice to any that you are sent for. Wishing you a prosperous journey, and us all a happy meeting,

“ I remain your very loving brother.”

The following answer‡ to his application, sent by Dr. Tillotson, then Dean of Canterbury, deserves to be preserved on account of the celebrity of the writer.

“ May it please your Grace,

“ Though I am very sensible how unfit I am to advise in difficult cases, yet I could never forgive myself, if I should be wanting to our religion and Church, in anything wherein your

* See BURNET'S *Own Times*, v. i.,
p. 738.

† Tann. MSS. v. 28. No. 21.

‡ Ibid. 28. 29.

Grace shall think I may be in the least serviceable; and therefore I shall not fail, God willing, to wait upon your Grace to-morrow morning, at the hour appointed. I humbly beg your Grace's blessing, and remain,

"My Lord, your Grace's most obedient son and servant,

"JO. TILLOTSON."

Among the clergy who were at that time resident in the metropolis, were many eminent lights and ornaments of the Church; not only Tillotson, but also Stillingfleet, Patrick, Tension, Sherlock, Fowler, and others, appear to have been immediately active in holding meetings for consultation, and in communicating with the archbishop. It is stated, also, that several nonconformist ministers were active in conveying their sentiments to the clergy, and urging them to make a firm stand for religion and liberty. As the result of these meetings, the sentiments of more than eighty of the London clergy, decidedly adverse to reading the Declaration, were made known to the archbishop, by May 12th, one week from the publication of the order.

On that day, a partial meeting took place at Lambeth Palace, of some of the bishops and clergy*; when, after full consideration of the matter of the reading the Declaration in the churches, it was resolved that the order to this effect should not be complied with. It was determined that a petition should be presented to the king on the subject, but that, before this was done, steps should be taken to collect in London, as many of the bishops as were within reach. The next few days seem to have been spent

* See CLARENDON'S *Diary*, 1638—Saturday, May 12. The Earl of Clarendon, who appears to have maintained great intimacy with the Archbishop of Canterbury, and many of the bishops, was present at this consultation. He says, "I dined at Lambeth, where likewise dined the Bishops of London, Ely, and Peterborough, Chester, and St. David's. The two last discomposed the company, nobody caring to speak before them. Quickly after dinner they went away. Then the archbishop and the rest took into consideration the

reading of the Declaration in the churches, according to the order of council; and after full deliberation, it was resolved not to do it. Dr. Tension was present at all the debate. The resolution was, to petition the king in the matter, but first to get as many bishops to town as were within reach; and, in order thereunto, that the Bishops of Winchester, Norwich, Gloucester, St. Asaph, Bath and Wells, Bristol and Chichester, be written to, to come to town."

in various consultations amongst the bishops and clergy*. When, at last, all the bishops who were expected in answer to the summons of the archbishop, had arrived, another meeting† took place at Lambeth Palace, on Friday, May 18th. There were present at it the following bishops: Dr. Compton of London, Dr. Lloyd of St. Asaph, Dr. Turner of Ely, Dr. Lake of Chichester, Dr. Kenn of Bath and Wells, Dr. White of Peterborough, and Sir Jonathan Trelawney of Bristol; Dr. Tillotson, dean of Canterbury; Dr. Stillingfleet, dean of St. Paul's; Dr. Patrick, dean of Peterborough; Dr. Tennison, vicar of Martin's; Dr. Sherlock, master of the Temple; and Dr. Grove, rector of St. Andrew's Undershaft.

After reading prayers, they entered on a serious and mature discussion of the subject. The following is given as the substance of what passed at the deliberation‡. It was urged—That the matter of the Declaration was altogether illegal, the footing upon which it stood being a power, not only to dispense in contingent and particular cases, for which, if the lawgivers could have foreseen them, they would have provided a dispensation; but it was to dispense with all sorts of laws, in cases contrary to the very design and end of making them: That this was not properly a dispensing but a disannulling power, highly prejudicial to the king himself, because it took away that faith and trust which the people repose in him when a law is made, which they look upon as their security: That it was true, each bishop or minister was not a capable judge in such cases; but however, he was a judge for his own private conscience, against which he must not go: That this case was publicly adjudged in Parliament, in 1672: That the general forbearance of addresses, grounded upon the illegality of that dispensing power, showed this to have been the judgment of the greatest part of the

* CLARENDON'S *Diary*, May 16.—“The Bishop of St. Asaph came to town] before noon; he alighted at my house, and dined with me. I sent for the Bishop of Ely. In the afternoon, they two went to Lambeth. They told me most of the city clergy had resolved not to read the Declaration. The Bishop of Winchester sent his excuse

to the archbishop, being indisposed.”—“May 17, Thursday.—The bishops of St. Asaph and Ely, Dr. Tennison, and Dr. Patrick dined with me. In the afternoon they went to Lambeth.”

† Tann. MSS. v. 28. Nos. 26, 27, 28, 30.

‡ See KENNETT'S *History*, iii. 482.

clergy and others: That the declaration of the present judges went no further than the particular military case of Sir Edward Hales, which, in whatsoever words it was expressed, yet never came legally to the cognizance of the subject: That an unlawful matter was not to be published, if he who published it thought the matter unlawful; for it cannot come to him, being illegal, by any authority; for the king can do no illegal thing;—and, if his officers do it, they do it not by the king's authority, and therefore, the refusing of it is no disobedience, being no illegal refusal: That if then the bishops should publish the Declaration, they would do it voluntarily as their own act, and consequently would publish an illegal thing without legal authority, and would be punishable for it: That many and great were the ill consequences of reading the Declaration;—first, that many would justly judge the clergy either cowards or hypocritical time-servers, in publishing what they thought illegal and illegally sent to them;—secondly, that many who had votes for the House of Commons, would take this for the consent of the publishers, and be strengthened in the choosing such men as should be friends, not only to the indulgence, but to the foundation of it, the dispensing power;—thirdly, that the world would have reason to take this publication for an approbation, because there could be no other intention in ordering it to be published, but to make the clergy parties to it; for it was as much known before it was read, as it would be after the reading of it; and, therefore, the making it known was not the only thing intended;—and fourthly, that after this, they must expect further things to be published by them, at which they must make a stand; and their making a stand, when they had lost their reputation, would be of no force: That, therefore, in prudence as well in conscience, they ought not to publish a Declaration which they knew to be against law, and which, in its nature and design, was levelled against their own interest, and that of their religion.

It was objected by some, that their refusal would be interpreted by the Papists, as a failure in the great principles of loyalty, to which the Church of England made pretence: others said, that Dissenters would construe it as a declaration against all tenderness to them; and others again, that suspension or deprivation of the refusers might follow, whereby the people of their church might be left, as sheep without a shepherd.

To the first objection it was answered, that their non-addressing, had been reflected on in books, as well as discourses; but had no effect to blast their loyalty, though the clergy refused to address, even in the branch that made for themselves because of that one foundation, on which that clause stood with the rest, of a dispensing power; that loyalty being obedience according to law, they were loyal men who acted not contrary thereunto; that the best friends to the crown are those who support the law; and that they still maintained the principle of suffering without any unchristian opposition. To the second, that the Dissenters had never such assurances from Churchmen of their inclination of tenderness to them, as they then received; that they could not but see that this refusal was not to hinder any favours to them by this indulgence, but the dispensing power, which, if it took place, they could not but discern that a new Magna Charta for liberty of conscience, would be of no validity to them, for a new declaration might dispense with it at pleasure; and that the wisest and best of them would look upon their refusal as a testimony of their sincerity to the Protestant religion, and not of any disaffection to them. To the last objection it was answered, that the Church and their religion would suffer less by the suspension or deprivation of their prelates or ministers, than it would by their illegal compliance in so great and fundamental a point; that they have better thoughts of the king's clemency and justice, when he should be informed by men of conscience, against the counsels of men of interest; for how could the king, at the very time that he proclaimed liberty of conscience to all, even those who formerly were looked upon as his enemies, do an open violence to the consciences of those, who had ever been acknowledged to be his friends: and, in short, that they ought to perform their duty, and leave the event to God; and that a certain evil must not be done, to avoid a contingent good.

After a long deliberation, they determined in conclusion to embody the result into the following form of petition, to be presented to the king.

“TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

“The humble Petition of William, Archbishop of Canterbury, and of divers of the suffragan bishops of that province, now

present with him, in behalf of themselves, and others of their absent brethren, and of the clergy of their respective dioceses,

“ Humbly sheweth,—That the great averseness they find in themselves to the distributing and publishing in all their churches your majesty’s late Declaration for liberty of conscience, proceedeth neither from any want of duty and obedience to your majesty, our holy mother the Church of England being, both in her principles and constant practice, unquestionably loyal, and having (to her great honour) been more than once publicly acknowledged to be so by your gracious majesty; nor yet from any want of due tenderness to Dissenters, in relation to whom they are willing to come to such a temper as shall be thought fit, when that matter shall be considered, and settled in parliament and convocation; but among many other considerations, from this especially, because that Declaration is founded upon such a dispensing power as hath often been declared illegal in Parliament, and particularly in the years 1662 and 1672, and in the beginning of your majesty’s reign; and is a matter of so great moment and consequence to the whole nation, both in Church state, that your petitioners cannot, in prudence, honour, or conscience, so far make themselves parties to it, as the distribution of it all over the nation, and the solemn publication of it once and again, even in God’s house, and in the time of his divine service, must amount to in common and reasonable construction.

“ Your petitioners, therefore, most humbly and earnestly beseech your majesty, that you will be graciously pleased not to insist upon their distributing and reading your majesty’s said Declaration :

“ And your petitioners shall ever pray, &c.

“ W. CANT.	THO. BATH & WELLS.
“ W. ASAPH.	THO. PETRIBURGENS.
“ FRAN. ELY.	JON. BRISTOL.”
“ JO. CICESTR.	

It had been thought most proper that Compton, bishop of London, should not subscribe the petition, as he then lay under suspension from the Ecclesiastical Commission; and, as it was

deemed preferable to consider it as a petition from the bishops, the other eminent clergymen who attended the meeting forebore to add their names. Circumstances admitted of no delay in presenting this petition; for the Sunday, following the Friday on which the meeting took place, was the first of the two days on which the Declaration was ordered to be read in the churches in and near London. Accordingly*, about ten o'clock on the evening of the day on which the petition was drawn up, which, it seems, was not in those times an unusual hour of audience, the bishops, who had subscribed it, went over to Whitehall to deliver it to the king. The archbishop did not attend to present the petition, because he had been forbidden to appear at court. When the bishops arrived at Whitehall, the Bishop of St. Asaph applied to the Earl of Sunderland, the President of the Council, desiring him to peruse the petition and acquaint his majesty with its general purport, that he might not be taken by surprise; requesting him at the same time to beg the king to assign the time and place, when and where they might all attend him and present their petition. The earl declined perusing the petition, but immediately went and acquainted the king with the request of the bishops. The king gave orders that they might be immediately admitted into his closet, where the Bishop of St. Asaph, with the rest, all upon their knees, delivered the petition. The king at first received the petitioners and their petition in a gracious manner, and upon first opening it said, "This is my lord of Canterbury's own hand." To which the bishops replied, "Yes, sir, it is his own hand." As soon, however, as he had read it over, he folded it up and said, "This is a great surprise to me: here are strange words. I did not expect this from you. This is a standard of rebellion."

The Bishop of St. Asaph, and some of the rest, replied, That they had adventured their lives for his majesty, and would lose the last drop of their blood, rather than lift up a finger against him.

The King.—I tell you, this is a standard of rebellion: I never saw such an address.

* This account of what passed is | own hand-writing.—Tann. MSS. v. 28.
given from a paper in the archbishop's | No. 26, &c.

The Bishop of Bristol (falling on his knees).—Rebellion ! Sir, I beseech your majesty, do not say so hard a thing of us. For God's sake, do not believe we are or can be guilty of a rebellion. It is impossible that I or any of my family should be so. Your majesty cannot but remember that you sent me down into Cornwall to quell Monmouth's rebellion ; and I am as ready to do what I can to quell another, if there were occasion.

Bishop of Chichester.—Sir, we have quelled one rebellion and will not raise another.

Bishop of Ely.—We rebel, sir ! we are ready to die at your feet.

Bishop of Bath and Wells.—Sir, I hope you will give that liberty to us, which you allow to all mankind.

Bishop of Peterborough.—Sir, you allow liberty of conscience to all mankind ; the reading this Declaration is against our conscience.

The King.—I will keep this paper. It is the strangest address which I ever saw ; it tends to rebellion. Do you question my dispensing power ? Some of you here have printed and preached for it, when it was for your purpose.

Bishop of Peterborough.—Sir, what we say of the dispensing power refers only to what was declared in parliament.

The King.—The dispensing power was never questioned by the men of the Church of England.

Bishop of St. Asaph.—It was declared against in the first parliament called by his late majesty, and by that which was called by your majesty.

The king, insisting upon the tendency of the petition to rebellion, said, he would have his Declaration published.

Bishop of Bath and Wells.—We are bound to fear God and honour the king. We desire to do both : we will honour you, we must fear God.

The King.—Is this what I have deserved, who have supported the Church of England, and will support it ? I will remember you that you have signed this paper. I will keep this paper ; I will not part with it. I did not expect this from you, especially from some of you. I will be obeyed in publishing my Declaration.

Bishop of Bath and Wells.—God's will be done.

The King.—What's that?

Bishop of Bath and Wells.—God's will be done,—and so said the Bishop of Peterborough.

The King.—If I think fit to alter my mind, I will send to you. God hath given me this dispensing power, and I will maintain it. I tell you, there are seven thousand men, and of the Church of England too, that have not bowed the knee to Baal.

After this singular conversation, conducted with so much heat and impetuosity of temper on the part of the king, and with such calmness and respectfulness of demeanour on the part of the bishops, they were dismissed from the royal presence.

The archbishop had written the petition with his own hand, in order to prevent copies of it getting into circulation; but, as is supposed, from the unfaithfulness of those about the king, it was spread all over the town on the very same evening on which it was presented*.

The petition was afterwards approved and signed by several bishops who were not present at the meeting, as those of Norwich, Gloucester, Salisbury, Winchester, and Exeter†. The

* See DALRYMPLE'S *Memoirs*.

† On two copies of the petition, written in the archbishop's hand, are the following subscriptions.

Approbo H. LONDON, May 23, 1688,
May 23, WILLIAM NORWICH,
May 21, 88, ROBERT GLOUCESTER,
May 26, SETH SARUM,
P. WINCHESTER,
THO. EXON. May 29, 1688.

Of these bishops, Dr. William Lloyd, bishop of Norwich, was a person in whose wisdom and integrity Archbishop Sancroft placed the greatest confidence. The archbishop sent for him as soon as the order for reading the Declaration came out, in order to consult him, with the other bishops, as to the best course of proceeding: and, that his letter might not be stopped at the post-office, where all suspected letters were opened every night, he sent his servant on the Norwich road to put it into the first country post, to be

forwarded by the Norwich bag. But it happened, by the neglect of the post-master to whom it was delivered, that it did not reach Norwich till a post after it ought to have done so. On this account, before the bishop could get to London, the petition of the seven prelates was presented. However, they had an advantage from that circumstance when they were committed to the Tower, that this bishop being at liberty had the opportunity of serving them as their solicitor, and conveying to them those advices from the nobility, lawyers, and other friends, by which they governed their conduct during the whole course of the business. His assiduity in this matter was so noticed, that threats were more than once held out to him, that he would be sent to keep company with those whose cause he so earnestly solicited.—See *Life of Prideaux*, p. 39-41.

Bishop of London, being at this time under suspension, probably thought it improper that he should appear before the king as a petitioning bishop, and therefore only signed the paper in token of his concurrence. The others, from some circumstances, were unable to reach London in time to add their names before it was presented.

The parochial clergy most readily followed the example set by the bishops, and very generally abstained from complying with the obnoxious Order in Council. Within the city and liberties of London, it is stated* that the Declaration was read only in four churches; or, at the most, in seven out of the supposed number of one hundred. In the chapel at Whitehall, it was read, as Evelyn who was present states, after the morning lessons, by one of the choir, who used to read the chapters. In Westminster Abbey it is also stated, on the authority of a person present, that Bishop Sprat, who chose on that day to officiate, as dean, gave directions for the Declaration to be read; that as soon as it commenced, so great a murmur arose that nobody could hear it; and that, before it was finished, no one was left in the church but a few prebendaries, the choristers, and the Westminster scholars. It is added that, the bishop himself could hardly hold the proclamation in his hand for trembling†. In the distant dioceses, some of the bishops who were devoted to the measures of the court, consented to send the Declaration to their clergy; but, even then, in many instances, the feeling of repugnance on the part of the latter was so strong, that they refused to comply with the order even when thus recommended by their superiors‡. On the whole, it is supposed that not more than two

* See CLARENDON'S *Diary*, May 20th. Kennett and Burnet state the number to be seven.

† See BURNET. *Oxf. Edition*. iii. 218.

‡ In the diocese of Norwich in particular, it is related that, out of about 1200 parishes, there were not above three or four where the Declaration was read from the pulpit.—See *Life of Prideaux*, p. 41. Activity was not wanting on the part of the opposers of the

Popish cause. A letter, supposed to have been drawn up by the Earl of Halifax, containing reasons addressed to the clergy for not complying with the Order of the king in council, was privately printed, and dispersed with great industry. In Norwich diocese, the dispersion of the copies was intrusted to Dr. Prideaux, then one of the prebendaries: he sent the parcel containing them to Yarmouth, to be conveyed back from thence by the car-

hundred out of the whole body of clergy, estimated at ten thousand, complied with the king's requisition. On the following Sunday, May 27th, the disobedience amongst the clergy was no less general, than on the former Sunday. The Protestant dissenters now decidedly ranged themselves in support of the Church. On the 20th of May, the venerable Baxter, from his tolerated pulpit, extolled the bishops for their strenuous resistance to that very Declaration to which he owed the very liberty which he enjoyed of public preaching*.

Archbishop Sancroft, and the bishops who had concurred with him in signing the petition, were now fairly committed in opposition to the king; and public expectation was on the utmost stretch, as to the consequences which would ensue from this extraordinary state of things. The known impetuosity of the king's temper, excited by the headstrong bigotry of the party to whose counsels he was entirely devoted, gave very little reason to suppose that he would suffer the affair to pass off quietly. Still, he seems to have remained for some time in suspense respecting the measures he should take; for he permitted a delay of nine days to elapse without doing anything; a delay very ill according with his usual habits and disposition, especially in a matter in which the strongest feelings of his nature were so deeply interested. It is stated that, at one time, he had determined to let the business drop, and not to proceed against the bishops. At last, he came to the imprudent resolution of prosecuting them for a misdemeanour. It seems doubtful whether this determination resulted principally from his own mind, or was instilled into him by others†: but the greater part of those who were

riers. In consequence of this contrivance, it was supposed that they came from Holland, and the fact of his being concerned in the dispersion of them was not suspected.—See *Life of Prideaux*, p. 390. 43.

* MACKINTOSH, p. 253.

† Even the Lord Chancellor Jeffreys seems to have been adverse to the plan of prosecuting the bishops. Lord Clarendon states in his *Diary*, that Jeffreys told him, the king was once resolved to let the business fall,

and not to have proceeded against them; that he (Jeffreys) was grieved to find he had changed his mind; that he knew not how it came to pass, but said there was no remedy; some men would hurry the king to his destruction.—CLARENDON'S *Diary*, Thursday, June 14. On the other hand, King James throws the blame of the measure on the Lord Chancellor. In his life of himself (Macpherson's *State Papers*, v. i. p. 161) he says, "The chancellor advised the king to sum-

most attached to him, foresaw from the first, as clearly as did those most opposed to him, the probable consequence of the measure; that of riveting the affections of the nation to the venerable prelates, by making them sufferers in the cause they had espoused, of inflaming in a tenfold degree the public feelings against his arbitrary proceedings, and ultimately of giving the most complete triumph to his opponents.

Late in the evening of Sunday, May 27th, one of the king's messengers served the Archbishop of Canterbury with the following summons*.

"Robert, Earl of Sunderland, President of His Majesty's most honourable Privy Council, &c. &c."

"These are in his majesty's name to require William, lord archbishop of Canterbury, to appear personally before his majesty in Council, upon the eighth day of June next at five in the afternoon, to answer to such matters of misdemeanour, as on his majesty's behalf shall then and there be objected against him: and you are hereby required to summon the said William, lord archbishop of Canterbury, to appear accordingly: and for so doing, this shall be your warrant. Given at the court at Whitehall, the 27th day of May, 1688.

"To Sir John Taylor, *"SUNDERLAND P."*
One of His Majesty's Messengers in Ordinary.

Those of the petitioners who were remaining in London, viz. the Bishops of Ely, Chichester, and Peterborough, had similar summonses at the same time personally served upon them by king's messengers: and citations were dispatched to the others who had retired to their respective dioceses.

The interval between the receipt of this summon and the time of their appearance, was spent by the prelates in consulting with their friends and legal advisers, as to the course they should

mon the bishops before the council." Again, (p. 152,) "The king gave in to the chancellor's opinion, who thought that a mere reprimand was not sufficient: it was however a fatal counsel." It seems that both the king and his

chancellor soon discovered the error of this step, and therefore each was desirous of disclaiming it as resulting from his own opinion, and of throwing the blame of it on the other.

* Tann. MSS. 2B. 35.

pursue before the Privy Council. A rumour had got abroad that they would be required to enter into recognizances for their further appearance. In consequence, they took the opinion of their friends as to this point, and were advised by no means to consent to do so, if they should be required; on the ground* of its never having been usual for members of the House of Peers to give recognizances to answer for a misdemeanour.

In the mean time, the bishops were cheered by the expressions of approbation which reached them from every quarter, for the firmness and spirit they had displayed. Evelyn states† that the behaviour of the bishops was universally applauded, and reconciled many adverse parties, the Papists only excepted, who were exceedingly perplexed. It was generally understood that the Protestant secular lords and the nobility in general would take part with the clergy. Amongst others, the Prince and Princess of Orange, who could be no indifferent spectators of what was passing in England, desired Dr. Stanley, their chaplain, to convey their feelings on the subject to the archbishop. The following is an extract from his letter on the occasion.

“ Hounslaerdike, ^{May 30th,} ~~June 10th,~~ 1688.

“ All men here, that love the Church and Reformation, do rejoice at it (the petition) and thank God for it, as an act very prudent and resolute, and every way becoming your places and characters; but especially our excellent prince and princess were so well pleased with it (notwithstanding what the Marquis of Abbeville, the king's envoy here, could say against it), that they have both vindicated it before him, and given me a command in their names to return your grace their hearty thanks for it; and at the same time to explain their real concern for your grace and all your brethren, and for the good cause in which you are engaged; and I dare say, they are not only highly satisfied with your grace's conduct, but reckon themselves particularly obliged by your grace's so steadily maintaining the Church; and your refusing to comply with the king is by no means looked on by them as tending to disparage or depress the monarchy: for they reckon the monarchy to be really undervalued and injured by all

* Tann. MSS. 28. 46.

† *Diary*, May 25.

unreasonable and illegal actions, though never so much pretending to enhance it. Indeed, we have great reason to bless and thank God, for their highnesses' steadiness in so good a cause, and their affection towards us. They do give us all the comfortable prospect that we ourselves can desire; and I pray God in his good time to answer and fulfil all these our hopes in them*."

On Friday, June 8th†, at five in the afternoon, his majesty came into the Privy Council. About half an hour after, the archbishop and six bishops, who were in attendance in the next room, were called into the council chamber, and graciously received by his majesty.

The Lord Chancellor took a paper then lying on the table, and showing it to the archbishop, asked him in words to this effect :

"Is this the petition that was written and signed by your grace, and which these bishops presented to his majesty?"

The archbishop received the paper from the Lord Chancellor and addressing himself to the king, spake to this purpose :

"Sir, I am called hither as a criminal, which I never was before in my life; and little thought I ever should be, especially before your majesty; but, since it is my unhappiness to be so at this time, I hope your majesty will not be offended, that I am cautious of answering questions. No man is obliged to answer questions, that they may tend to the accusing of himself."

His majesty called this chicanery, and hoped he would not deny his hand.

The archbishop still insisted that there could be no other object in putting this question, but to draw such an answer from him as might afford ground for an accusation, and, therefore, begged that no answer might be required of him. The Bishop of St. Asaph said, "All divines are agreed in this, that no man in our circumstances is obliged to answer any such question." The king still pressing for an answer with some seeming impatience, the archbishop said, "Sir, though we are not obliged to

* See Tann. MSS. 28. 31.

† Tann. MSS. 28. 49. The narrative of what took place at these remarkable interviews is given from

papers, part of which are wholly written, and part corrected, by Archbishop Sancroft.

give any answer to this question, yet, if your majesty lays your commands upon us, we shall answer it, in trust, upon your majesty's justice and generosity, that we shall not suffer for our obedience, as we must, if our answer should be brought in evidence against us." His majesty said, "No, I will not command you: if you will deny your own hands, I know not what to say to you." The Lord Chancellor then desired them to withdraw.

After about half a quarter of an hour, they were called in again. Then the Lord Chancellor said, "His majesty has commanded me to require you to answer this question. Whether these be your hands which are set to this petition?" His majesty himself also said, "I command you to answer this question." Then the archbishop took the petition, and having read it over, acknowledged that he wrote and signed it. The other bishops also acknowledged their respective signatures.

The following questions were put by the king at this interview, and thus answered by some of the bishops*.

Q. Is this your petition?

A. Pray, sir, give us leave to see it; and if, upon perusal, it appears to be the same —. Yes, sir, this is our petition, and these are our subscriptions.

Q. Who were present at the forming of it?

A. All we, who have subscribed it.

Q. Were no other persons present?

A. It is our great infelicity, that we are here as criminals; and your majesty is so just and generous, that you will not require us to accuse either ourselves or others.

Q. Upon what occasion came you to London?

A. I received an intimation from the archbishop, that my advice and assistance was required in the affairs of the Church.

Q. What were the affairs which you consulted of?

A. The matter of the petition.

* This is given from a paper in the archbishop's hand-writing, which states it to be what passed "after the third or fourth coming in." To make it consistent, however, with the narrative, drawn up also by him, of the whole which passed at the several interviews, it must have taken place after the second time of their coming in. It is manifest that the archbishop afterwards put down on paper what had passed, either from his own recollection, or from that of the bishops: perfect accuracy, therefore, as to the very words that passed, was not to be expected.

Q. What is the temper you are ready to come to with the Dissenters?

A. We refer ourselves to the petition.

Q. What mean you by the dispensing power being declared illegal in parliament?

A. The words are so plain that we cannot use any plainer.

Q. What want of prudence or honour is there in obeying the king?

A. What is against conscience is against prudence, and honour too, especially in persons of our character.

Q. Why is it against your conscience?

A. Because our consciences oblige us (as far as we are able) to preserve our laws and religion according to the Reformation.

Q. Is the dispensing power then against the law?

A. We refer ourselves to the petition.

Q. How could the distributing and reading the Declaration make you parties to it?

A. We refer ourselves to our petition, whether the common and reasonable construction of mankind would not make it so.

Q. Did you disperse a printed letter in the country, or otherwise dissuade any of the clergy from reading it?

A. If this be one of the articles of misdemeanour against us, we desire to answer it with the rest.

General. We acknowledge the petition: we are summoned to appear here to answer such matters of misdemeanour as should be objected; we therefore humbly desire a copy of our charge, and that time convenient may be allowed us to advise about it, and answer it. We are here in obedience to his majesty's command to receive our charge, but humbly desire we may be excused from answering questions from whence occasion may be taken against us.

They were now commanded to withdraw. After a while they were called in a third time. Then the Lord Chancellor told them, "It is his majesty's pleasure to have you proceeded against for this petition; but it shall be with all fairness in Westminster Hall: there will be an information against you, which you are to answer; and, in order to that, you are to enter into a recognizance." The archbishop said, that without

a recognizance they should be ready to appear and to answer, whensoever they were called. One of the bishops said, the Lord Lovelace had been called before the council to answer to a complaint that was brought in against him, and that he was allowed to answer it in Westminster Hall, without entering into any recognizance; and that they hoped they might be allowed to answer in like nature. The Lord Chancellor said, the Lord Lovelace had affronted his majesty, and had behaved himself very rudely before them; and, therefore, his majesty would have him proceeded against in the common way; but, for the bishops there present, his majesty was pleased to treat them with all favour in respect of their character, and therefore he would have them enter into recognizance. His majesty was pleased to say, "I offer you this as a favour, and I would not have you refuse it." The Bishop of St. Asaph said, "Whatsoever favour your majesty vouchsafes to offer to any person, you are pleased to leave it to him whether he will accept it or no; and you do not expect that he should accept it to his own prejudice. We conceive, that this entering into recognizance may be prejudicial to us; and therefore we hope your majesty will not be offended at our declining it." Then the Lord Chancellor said, "There are but three ways to proceed in matters of this kind; it must be either by commitment, or by recognizance, or by subpoena out of King's Bench. His majesty was not willing to take the common way in proceeding against you; but he would give you leave to enter into recognizance;" and his lordship again advised them to accept it. Some of the bishops said, they were informed that no man was obliged to enter into recognizance, unless there were special matter against him, and that alleged upon oath: this they said, not considering that now the petition was made special matter, and that their confessing it was as good as an oath. But at last they insisted on this, that there was no precedent for it, that any member of the House of Peers should be bound in recognizance for misdemeanour. The Lord Chancellor said there were precedents for it; but, on being desired to name one, he named none. The bishops desired to be proceeded against in the common way; but that was not allowed, and they were a third time commanded to withdraw.

Awhile after, they were called in a fourth time, and asked, whether they had considered of it better? and, whether they would accept his majesty's favour? The archbishop said, he had the advice of the best counsel in town; and they had warned him against entering into recognizance, assuring him it would be to his prejudice; and therefore he begged that it might not be required, offering his promise again to appear and to answer whensoever he should be called. But his majesty seemed to be displeased, and said, "You will believe others before you will believe me." So they were a fourth time commanded to withdraw.

Some time after, the Earl of Berkeley, one of the noblemen about the court, came from the Council Chamber to the bishops, and endeavoured first to persuade the archbishop, and afterwards the other bishops, to enter into recognizance. Referring to a conversation he had with the archbishop a short time before, in which he understood him to say that he should be willing to enter into recognizance, if required, he seemed to think it strange that his grace should now refuse it. The fact, no doubt, is, that his grace may have expressed himself in conversation, as willing to take this step; but that, afterwards, as has been stated, he and the other bishops were strongly advised against it by their legal friends. The earl remained with them for some time, earnestly urging the point, and saying, that if it were his own case, he should do it. At last, finding them all resolved, he returned to the Council Chamber. About half an hour after, a serjeant-at-arms came forth from thence with a warrant, signed with fourteen hands to carry the seven prelates to the Tower; and another warrant, with nineteen hands and seals annexed, was addressed to the lieutenant of the Tower, to keep them in safe custody.

The following is the warrant of their commitment, addressed to the lieutenant of the Tower.

"These are in his majesty's name, and by his command, to require you to take into your custody the persons of William, lord archbishop of Canterbury; William, lord bishop of St. Asaph; Francis, lord bishop of Ely; John, lord bishop of Chichester; Thomas, lord bishop of Bath and Wells; Thomas, lord

bishop of Peterborough; and, Jonathan, lord bishop of Bristol; for contriving, making, and publishing a seditious libel in writing, against his majesty and his government; and them safely to keep in your custody, until they shall be delivered by due course of law. For which this shall be your sufficient warrant. At the Council Chamber in Whitehall, this 8th day of June, 1688.

Signed by "JEFFREYS, Chancellor,
"and eighteen other Privy Councillors."

"To the lieutenant of the Tower."

An Order of Council was made at the same time, directing the attorney and solicitor generals to prosecute the bishops, in the following terms.

AT THE COURT AT WHITEHALL, June 8th, 1688.

Present,

The King's most excellent Majesty.

After reciting the names of the Privy Councillors, among whom was Mr. Petre, the Jesuit, whose introduction to the Council had given such great offence.)

"There being this day issued a warrant by his majesty's special command, in Council, under the hands and seals of the lords of his majesty's most honourable Privy Council, for committing to the Tower of London, his grace William, lord archbishop of Canterbury, &c., for contriving, making and publishing a seditious libel against his majesty and his government, (a copy whereof is hereunto annexed,) there to be safely kept, until they shall be delivered by due course of law: it is this day further ordered by his majesty in Council, that Sir Thomas Powys, knight, his majesty's attorney-general, and Sir William Williams, knight, his majesty's solicitor-general, do forthwith prepare an information against the said archbishop, and the several bishops above named, for the offence aforesaid, and prosecute the same according to law, in his majesty's court of the King's Bench, next term."

The archbishop, writing at a subsequent period (March 1, 1691,) to a person who appears to have animadverted with some severity on the conduct of himself and the other bishops, in refus-

ing to enter into recognizance, the consequence of which refusal was their committal to the Tower, and the great excitement of the public mind, so prejudicial to the king, which thence ensued, says, "We proffered the king our words as honest men, and Christians, and churchmen, to appear to his prosecution whenever he should assign us a day. But the council insisted upon it, that we should enter a recognizance to that purpose. To which, when we answered, that our counsel advised us, and, indeed, divers of the peers had also privately warned us, by no means to do it, for that would be to betray the privilege of the peerage; I thereupon besought the king that he would take our words; which he could not think we would falsify, to no purpose at all; we were commanded to withdraw; and soon after a messenger came out with a warrant to carry us to the Tower."

The intelligence that these venerable prelates were about to be committed as prisoners to the Tower, flew like wildfire through the town, and its effect upon the people is described by historians as quite electrical.

"The people," says Hume, "were already aware of the danger to which the prelates were exposed, and were raised to the highest pitch of anxiety and attention with regard to the issue of this extraordinary affair. But when they beheld these fathers of the Church brought from court under the custody of a guard, when they saw them embarked in vessels on the river and conveyed towards the Tower, all their affections for liberty, all their zeal for religion blazed up at once, and they flew to behold this affecting spectacle. The whole shore was covered with crowds of prostrate spectators, who at once implored the blessing of those holy pastors, and addressed their petitions towards heaven, for protection during this extreme danger, to which their country and their religion stood exposed. Even the soldiers, seized with the contagion of the same spirit, flung themselves on their knees before the distressed prelates, and craved the benediction of those criminals whom they were appointed to guard. Some persons ran into the water, that they might participate more nearly in those blessings which the prelates were distributing on all around them. The bishops themselves, during this triumphant suffering, augmented the general favour by the most

lowly submissive deportment; and they still exhorted the people to fear God, honour the king, and maintain their loyalty; expressions more animating than the most inflammatory speeches. And no sooner had they entered the precincts of the Tower, than they hurried to chapel, in order to return thanks for those afflictions, which Heaven in defence of its holy cause, had thought them worthy to endure."

It was remarked at the time, and deemed a mark of special providential interference, that on the evening of the bishops' commitment, when they attended divine service in the chapel of the Tower, the second lesson was the sixth chapter of the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, a passage peculiarly applicable to them as sufferers for the sake of their ministry*.

On the days following the arrival of the prelates at the Tower, persons of all ranks, from the highest to the lowest, flocked thither in crowds, to proffer their services, to condole with them in their sufferings, to express their gratitude and admiration, and to exhort them to firm perseverance in the course they had so nobly begun. None of their visitors were more remarkable than a deputation of ten nonconformist ministers, which so incensed the king that he personally reprimanded them; but their answer was, that they could not but adhere to the bishops, as men constant to the Protestant religion†. The friends of the bishops, at the same time, were busily employed in engaging for them the most eminent legal assistance, and consulting as to the line of defence which it would be most advisable for them to take, when their trial should come on‡.

* See a hand bill, entitled, Great and Good News to the Church of England, 1700.

† *REESBY'S Memoirs.*

‡ The imprisonment of the bishops took place at a juncture, which admitted of an interpretation unfavourable to James. It happened that the queen was delivered of a son, June 10th, two days after the committal, and thus the attendance of the Archbishop of Canterbury, customary on such occasions, was prevented. Rumours were immediately circulated that the birth was supposititious; and the suspicion was

added, in support of them, that the king had contrived effectually to prevent the presence of the archbishop, in order to preclude the detection of the fraud. The king ordered immediately that a public thanksgiving should be observed for the birth of the prince. It is customary, on such occasions for a command to be given to the Archbishop of Canterbury, to prepare a suitable form of prayer; but, in this instance, on account of the events which had taken place, the command was given to Sprat, bishop of Rochester.—See *London Gazette*.

It is stated* that, during the imprisonment, Sunderland and the catholic lords, now supported by Jeffreys, used every argument to persuade the king, that the birth of the Prince of Wales (announced publicly as having taken place too after the committal to the Tower) afforded a suitable opportunity for signaling that season of national joy by a general pardon which would comprehend the bishops, without involving any apparent concession. But the obstinacy of the king, inflamed by bigoted advisers, prevailed over sober counsels.

At last, on Friday the 15th of June, being the first day of term, Archbishop Sancroft and the six bishops were brought from the Tower to the court of King's Bench, by writ of *habeas corpus*. As they passed by water, they were greeted with acclamations and prayers for their safety, by the people assembled on each side of the river. In their way from the water-side to the hall, the multitude formed a lane for them, and begged their blessing. Westminster Hall, with the Palace yards and other places in the vicinity of the court, was thronged with vast accumulations of people. Of the immense concourse of people who received them on the bank of the river, the majority in their immediate neighbourhood were on their knees. The archbishop laid his hands on the heads of such as he could reach, exhorting them to continue steadfast in their faith; tears flowed from the eyes of many†. A number of the principal nobility and gentry followed the prelates into court. The crisis, to which the intemperate measures of King James were tending, seemed to be now arrived; and the fate of the whole nation to rest suspended on the issue of this great event.

Sir Robert Wright was at this time chief justice of the court of King's Bench, and the three puisne judges were named Holloway, Powell, and Allybone. The attorney and solicitor-generals, Sir Thomas Powys and Sir William Williams, took the leading part in the conduct of the prosecution. The counsel for the prisoners were Sir Robert Sawyer, who had held the office of attorney-general a short time before, Mr. Serjeant Pemberton, Mr. Finch, Mr. Pollexfen, Mr. Serjeant Levinz, Sir

* MACKINTOSH, p. 261.

† Ibid. 262.

George Treby, and Mr. Somers, afterwards the famous Lord Somers.

On the assembling of the court, the attorney-general moved that the prisoners should be brought up by writ of *habeas corpus*. The writ was immediately granted, and about eleven o'clock the lieutenant of the Tower brought the archbishop and six bishops into court. They were immediately accommodated with chairs.

On the attorney-general's moving that the information should be read, the counsel for the accused took two technical exceptions to the legality of the instrument under which they were committed: the one, that the warrant of commitment did not express, on the face of it, that the peers who signed it were in council assembled; the other, that the bishops, as peers of the of the realin, ought not to have been committed to prison for an offence which was only charged as a misdemeanour; they urged that, if their commitment was illegal, they were not legally in court, and therefore could not answer to the information. These objections were, after some discussion, overruled, and the information was read. After reciting the king's Declaration, and the Order in Council for the reading of it in the churches, it stated that William, archbishop of Canterbury, and the other bishops, (mentioning them by name,) "consulted and conspired amongst one another, to diminish the royal authority, prerogative and power, and to infringe and elude the said Order (in Council); in the prosecution and execution of the said conspiracy, did, *vi et armis*, &c., at Westminster, unlawfully, maliciously, seditiously and scandalously fabricate, compose and write, under the pretence of a petition, a certain false, feigned, pernicious and seditious libel; and the same, subscribed with their own hands, did in the presence of the said lord the king, publish, and cause to be published, in manifest contempt of our said lord the king, and the laws of this kingdom, to the evil example of all other delinquents in a similar case, and against the peace of the said king, &c."

The counsel for the accused now stated to the court, that, as they were then for the first time acquainted with the particulars of the information, they prayed some time might be allowed them to enable them to prepare their plea against it. After some

inquiry into the practice of the court, this prayer was refused. The chief justice said, "We have taken all the care we can to be satisfied in this matter, and we will take care that my lords the bishops shall have all justice done them; nay, they shall have all the favour, by my consent, that can be shown them, without doing wrong to my master the king; but truly I cannot depart from the course of the court in this matter, if the king's counsel press it."

The prelates were accordingly desired to plead to the information. On this, the Archbishop of Canterbury stood up, and offering a paper to the court, said, "My lord, I tender here a short plea, a very short one, in behalf of myself and my brethren, the other defendants; and I humbly desire the court will admit of this plea." The chief justice asked him whether he would stand by this plea. His grace answered, "We will all stand by it, my lord; it is subscribed by our counsel, and we pray it may be admitted by the court."

The plea was read; it merely insisted on the ground before taken by their counsel, that they ought not to be compelled to answer instantly to the information, but should be allowed sufficient time to prepare their answer. The counsel for the prosecution immediately protested against the admission of this plea, on the ground that, as referring to a point already decided, it could only be considered as a device for obtaining a delay of the proceedings. The court agreed in this, and the plea was rejected.

The archbishop and bishops now severally pleaded in the usual form, "Not Guilty," to the charge; and the attorney-general gave notice that the trial would come on, on that day fortnight. The court consented to admit the prisoners to bail, on their own recognizance; the archbishop being bound to appear under a penalty of 200*l.*, and each of the bishops of 100*l.* They accordingly left the court, and retired to their respective homes. The joy of the people on seeing the bishops set at liberty corresponded with the deep anxiety and regret they had expressed at their imprisonment. Great crowds eagerly flocked around them hailing them with loud acclamations and pressing to receive their benedictions. At night, public rejoicings were continued, bonfires were made in the streets, and the healths of the seven

heroic prelates were drunk with enthusiastic joy*. When the archbishop landed at Lambeth, the grenadiers of Lord Lichfield's regiment, though posted there by his enemies, received him with military honours, made a lane for his passage from the river to his palace, and fell on their knees to ask his blessing.

It may seem to some extraordinary, that, as has just appeared, and as will be seen further on the trial, the counsel for the accused should catch with such eagerness at every legal objection, and at every plea for delay that could be started, instead of at once openly soliciting a fair and full discussion of the whole transaction. It may be thought too that persons in the grave and dignified situation of these prelates, ought not, on the occasion of so serious a charge brought against them by their sovereign, to have suffered advantage to be taken in their defence of any technical informality which could be discovered; that they should have sought no acquittal which did not result from a regular and full trial, and which was not attended with a clear establishment of their innocence in the eyes of the nation. It should be recollected, however, on the other side, that not only their own personal safety was at stake, but that the most important interests of the nation were suspended on this trial; that from the known temper and views of the prosecutors, it was certain that they were not seeking the real ends of public justice, but were endeavouring, at all events, and by all means, by procuring a verdict against the bishops, to strike a severe blow at the Church. Thus, as it was not to be doubted that advantage would be industriously taken of every possible technical objection, to the prejudice of the accused, it is clear that a fair chance of success would not have been given to their cause, if every similar advantage had not been taken in their favour.

On Friday, the 29th of June, the prelates appeared in court,

* CLARENDON'S *Diary*, Friday, June 15. (After entering into recognizances.) "And so they went home, the people in like manner crowding for their blessings. As I was taking coach in the little Palace Yard, by the House of Lords, I found the Bishop of St. Asaph in the midst of the crowd, the

people thinking it a blessing to kiss any of the bishop's hands or garments. I took him into my coach, and carried him home to my house, but was fain to turn up through Tuttle Street, and so to go round the park, to avoid the throng, the other way in the streets."

and the important trial came on, amidst a crowd of anxious spectators, greater even than on the former occasion. The jury appear to have consisted of persons in respectable circumstances of life, Sir Roger Langley, Bart., being their foreman.

The attorney-general, in opening the pleadings, explained to the jury, that the bishops were not prosecuted in their episcopal character, or for a spiritual offence, but as subjects, and for a temporal crime; that of injuring and affronting his majesty to his very face, and censuring him and his government. "I cannot," he said, "omit to notice, that there is nothing the law is more jealous of, than all accusations and arraignment of the government. No man is allowed to accuse even the most inferior magistrate of misbehaviour in his office, unless it be in a legal course, though the fact be true. No man may say to a justice of peace to his face, that he is unjust in his office. No man may come to a judge, either by word or petition, telling him, You have given an unjust or an ill judgment, and I will not obey it; no man may say of the great men of the nation, much less of the great officers of the kingdom, that they act unreasonably or unjustly, or the like; least of all, may any man say any such thing of the king, for these matters tend to possess the people that the government is ill administered; and the last age afforded abundant experience what these discontents tend to, and how they end." He then stated that his majesty, having issued a gracious Declaration for Liberty of Conscience to his subjects, had ordered it to be read in the churches that all the people might hear what he had promised by his sacred word; that all the return he had received for his gracious kindness, was hard words and a heavy accusation for that which was the effect of his mercy; that he had resented this ill usage so far as to order a public vindication of his honour by this trial.

The evidence for the prosecution consisted only of the proof of the signature by the bishops, of the petition containing the alleged libel, and of the publication of it. Some difficulty occurred on each of these points. After attempts that were not satisfactory to the court to prove their signatures from persons who were well acquainted with their hand-writings, at last a clerk of the privy council was produced, who attested that the

bishops had themselves owned their signatures before the privy council. On the subject of the publication of the alleged libel, the counsel for the accused contended, that, although the bishops had subscribed the paper, still it might have reached the king without their knowledge and consent. The clerks of the privy council could only state their belief and not their knowledge that the bishops had presented it; the court held that this was not such proof as could be admitted in a court of law, and the chief justice was about to sum up for an acquittal, when it occurred to the conductors of the prosecution to send for the Earl of Sunderland, president of the privy council, the person who had introduced the bishops to the king to deliver their petition. The earl quickly appeared in the court: his statement was admitted as sufficient proof of the publication, and the case was closed on the part of the prosecution.

The defence of the bishops was conducted by their counsel with great spirit and ability. They represented that, whereas these reverend persons stood accused of having published a false, malicious, and seditious libel against the king, nothing could be further from deserving such epithets than the petition which they had presented. It was expressed in the most humble and respectful terms, and presented to the king in the most private manner. It was merely a prayer to be excused from complying with a measure with which they felt that in prudence, and honour, and conscience, they could not comply. Every subject is allowed to petition the king: as bishops, they were particularly charged with the care and execution of those laws which concerned the welfare of the Church; and therefore, when they saw that measures were pursued by the government which they, in the exercise of their soundest judgment, deemed an infraction of those laws, they would have been wanting to the duties of their high office, if they had not freely expressed their opinion. There was nothing in the matter of the petition, in the words in which it was expressed, or in the manner in which it was presented, that could support the charge founded upon it—of their having been guilty of publishing a false, malicious, and seditious libel.

But the substance of their defence was made to rest on a

topic, which, above every other, it was least convenient to the government to have prominently brought forward for public discussion; viz., the legality of the power of dispensing with the penal laws, the claim to which, on the part of the king, had led to the present proceedings. The main feature of the charge brought against the prelates, was the attempt to diminish the king's prerogative and privileges. Now, as the only part of his prerogative to which any reference was made in their petition, was this dispensing power, it was clear that this was intended in the charge. The most effectual mode, therefore, of doing away the charge, was to prove that the crown had no valid pretension to this power, as a part of its prerogative. On this topic the counsel for the accused argued with great effect and success.—“If,” they said, “the laws are to be suspended by virtue of the king's Declaration, the consequence is indeed most dismal to the whole nation, and it well behoved these fathers of the Church to represent it to the king. The principle once established, the application of it might be carried to any extent; and thus, by the sole power of the king, any laws enacted by the authority of parliament might be rendered null and void by the suspension of their operation.”

“This Declaration of the king,” said Mr. Finch, one of the counsel, “is founded on a power of dispensing, which undertakes to suspend all laws ecclesiastical whatsoever: as if the king had a power to suspend at once all the laws relating to the established religion, including those that were made for the security of our Reformation.

“Now, my lord, I have always considered, with submission, that a power to abrogate laws is as much a part of the legislature, as a power to make laws. A power to lay laws asleep, and to suspend them, is equal to a power of abrogating them; for they are no longer in being, as laws, while they are so laid asleep or suspended; and to abrogate all at once, or do it time after time is the same thing; but both equally belong to the legislature, not to the king alone.

“My lord, in all the education that I have had, in all the small knowledge of the laws that I could attain to, I could never yet hear or learn, that the constitution of this government in

England was otherwise than thus: that the whole legislative power is in the king, lords, and commons; the king, and his two Houses of Parliament. But then, if this Declaration be founded upon a part of the legislature, which must be by all men acknowledged, not to reside in the king alone, but in the king, lords, and commons, it cannot be a legal and true power or prerogative."

"Such a dispensing power," said Serjeant Pemberton, "strikes at the very foundation of all the rights, liberties, and properties of the king's subjects. If the king may suspend the laws of the land which concern our religion, I am sure there is no other law that he may not suspend; and if the king may suspend all the laws of the kingdom, in what a condition are all the subjects for their lives, liberties, and properties!—All are at his mercy.

"My lord, the king's legal prerogatives are as much for the advantage of his subjects, as of himself; and no man goes about to speak against them. But, under pretence of legal prerogatives, to extend the power of the king, to support a prerogative that tends to the destruction of all his subjects, their religion and liberties, in that, I think, those who attempt it, do the king no service.

"But now, we say, with your lordship's favour, that these laws are the great bulwark of the reformed religion; they are, in truth, that which fence the religion and Church of England; and we have no other human fence besides. They were made upon a foresight of the mischiefs that had, and might; come by false religion in this kingdom; and they were intended to defend the nation against them, and to keep them out, particularly to keep out the Romish religion, which is the very worst of all religions. My lord, if this Declaration should take effect, what would be the end of it? All religions would be let in, be they what they will, Ranters, Quakers, and the like; nay, even the Roman Catholic religion (as they call it), which was intended, by these Acts of Parliament, and by the Act of Nonconformity and several other acts, to be kept out of this nation, as a religion no way tolerable, nor to be endured here."

The learned counsel further proceeded to show, by bringing as evidence the records of the Houses of Parliament, that the king possesses no such prerogative of suspending the laws;

that in the reign of Richard II., Parliament gave the king a power to dispense for a time with the Statute of Provisors, declaring, at the same time, that this very grant of their own was a novelty, and should not be drawn into a precedent; a circumstance which clearly proves that this power did not then belong to the crown: that twice in the late reign, in 1662 and 1672, the power of suspending penal laws had been pretended to by the sovereign; but in each case it had drawn such strong remonstrances from the Houses of Parliament, that it was no longer insisted on. In the former of the two years, the king, in addressing Parliament, used this remarkable expression—"If the Dissenters will demean themselves peaceably and modestly, under the government, I could heartily wish that I had such a power of indulgence to use upon occasion;" an expression which implied his full knowledge and persuasion that he did not possess the power. In 1672, after strong remonstrances [from Parliament, the king cancelled the declaration he had issued, for the suspension of penal laws, and in a public address gave his faithful promise, that what had been done in that particular instance, should not be drawn either into consequence or example.

In conclusion of the defence, Mr. Somers said, "By the law of all civilized nations, if the prince does require something to be done, which the person who is to do it takes to be unlawful, it is not only lawful, but his duty, *rescribere principi*; this is all that is done here, and that, in the most humble manner that can be thought of. They did not interpose by giving their advice as peers, they never stirred till it was brought home to themselves; when they made their petition, all they begged was, that it might not be so far insisted upon by his majesty, as to oblige them to read it; whatever they thought of it, they did not take upon them to desire the Declaration to be revoked.

"My lord, as to matters of fact alleged in the said petition, that they are perfectly true, we have shown by the journals of both Houses. In every one of those years which are mentioned in the petition, this power of dispensation was considered in Parliament, and upon debate, declared to be contrary to law: there could be no design to diminish the prerogative, because the king hath no such prerogative.

“Seditious, my lord, it could not be, nor could it possibly stir up sedition in the minds of the people, because it was presented to the king in private, and alone: false it could not be, because the matter of it is true. There could be nothing of malice, for the occasion was not sought; the thing was pressed upon them; and a libel it could not be, because the intent was innocent, and they kept within the bounds set by the Act of Parliament, that gives the subject leave to apply to his prince by petition when he is aggrieved.”

After this triumphant defence, a reply was attempted on the part of the prosecution. It was principally insisted, that the king did possess the prerogative of dispensing with penal laws; that what passed in the years 1662 and 1672, amounted not to any authoritative decision or enactment on the subject, but was merely an expression of the opinion of the Houses of Parliament; that, under all the circumstances, the king gave way to this opinion so declared, but that this did not amount to a permanent surrender of the prerogative. It was further contended, that as to the malicious and seditious nature of the libel, the law always held an act which was illegal to be done with an evil intent, and this was all that was meant by these epithets; that a greater reflection on the government could scarcely be conceived, than that conveyed in the assertion of the bishops, that what they were required to do, was against prudence, honour, and conscience; that no greater proof could be desired of the tendency of their conduct to inflame the public mind, and raise jealousy and discontents, than the sight of the crowd which now surrounded the court of justice, and the character of the harangues which had been made in their defence; that their right to petition, as subjects, and as peers, was unquestioned, but furnished no excuse for libelling the king, by a petition containing matter reproachful or scandalous, and should afford them no exemption from punishment.

The chief justice summed up the evidence, and declared his opinion that the petition amounted to a libel; Justice Allybone agreed with him; but the other two judges, Holloway and Powel, pronounced it to be no libel. The latter, in particular, stated his opinion in very strong and pointed terms, that it did not par-

take of the character of a libel in any one of its features, in being either false, malicious, or seditious: that the king possessed no dispensing power, and therefore that his Declaration founded on such pretended power was illegal.

The trial lasted during the whole of the day. In the evening, the jury were desired to retire and consider of their verdict. They remained together*, in close consultation all night, without fire or

* The following note was written to the Archbishop of Canterbury, by Mr. Ince, his solicitor, who had been in attendance at the court where the jury were confined during the whole night. It is a very curious document, as attesting the custom which appears then to have prevailed, of giving fees to the jurymen by the party in favour of whom they brought in their verdict. It is dated "six o'clock in the morning, 30 June, 1688, at the Bell Tavern, King Street.

"May it please your Grace,

"We have watched the jury all night carefully, attending without the door on the stair-head. They have by order been kept all night without fire or candle, bread, drink, tobacco, or any other refreshment whatever, save only basons of water, and towels this morning about four.

"The officers and our own servants, and others hired by us to watch the officers, have, and shall, constantly attend, but must be supplied with fresh men to relieve our guards, if need be.

"I am informed by my servant and Mr. Grange's, that, about midnight, they were very loud one among another, and the like happened about three this morning; which makes me collect they are not agreed; they beg for a candle to light their pipes, but are denied.

"In case a verdict pass for us, (which God grant in his own best time,) the present consideration will be, how the jury shall be treated. The course is

usually to each man so many guineas, and a common dinner for them all. The quantum is at your Grace's and my Lords' direction. But it seems to my poor understanding, that the dinner might be spared, lest our watchful enemies interpret our entertainment of the jury for a public exultation, and a seditious meeting; and so it may be ordered thus:—Each man — guineas for his trouble; and each man a guinea over for his own desire; with my Lords' order, that I or some other entreat them, in your names, not to dine together for the reasons aforesaid. I conceive, my Lords the Bishops will resolve how to direct me in this point, before they come into court. There were twenty-two of the jury appeared and no more; and they that did not serve, will expect a reward, as well as those who did.

"I beg your Grace's pardon for this trouble; it is only to enable my Lords to consult, what is fit to do decently on our part; and all is submitted to your Grace's and my Lords' judgment, by

"My Lord,

"Your Grace's most humble Servant,

"JO. INCE.

"P.S. Just now the officer brings me word they are all agreed, and are sending to my Lord Chief Justice to know where he pleases to take their verdict. There must be an hundred and fifty, or two hundred guineas provided."—See Tanner's MSS. v. 28. p. 83.

candle : great difference of opinion appears to have prevailed among them from the length of time which elapsed before they came to an agreement ; persons who were appointed to watch them reported ; that about midnight, and also about three o'clock in the morning ; they were overheard to be engaged in loud and eager debate. About six o'clock, they sent a message to the chief justice, to state that they were all agreed. In consequence, at ten, the prelates were brought into court, and the jury through their foreman brought in their verdict, Not Guilty*.

"The moment the verdict was pronounced, there was a wonderful shout," says the Earl of Clarendon, who was present, "that one would have thought the hall had cracked." "The loud shouts and joyful acclamations of the vast numbers assembled were," as Sir John Reresby expresses, "a rebellion in noise, though not in intention." The tumultuous sounds of triumphant joy extended rapidly from the town to the country, and a well known expression of King James's is preserved, on hearing acclamations even among the soldiers in his camp at Hounslow. He was told by his general, Lord Feversham, of whom he had inquired the cause of the noise, that it was nothing but the rejoicing of the soldiers for the acquittal of the bishops. "Do you call that

* A minute and particular account exists in Tanner's MSS. v. 23. Nos. 1, 84, 86, 150. of the charges incurred during the prosecution, trial, &c. of the bishops, and of the assessment made upon them in proportion to their incomes, for defraying them.—The whole of the charges amounts to 614*l.* 8*s.* 8*d.* ; and this sum was levied by assessing them severally as follows :—

	£	£	s.	d.
Archbishop of Canterbury, for 4,000 per ann.	260	16	8	
Bishop of Asaph	700	45	12	11
— Ely	2,000	130	8	4
— Chichester	770	50	0	2½
— Bath and Wells	900	58	8	6½
— Peterborough	630	41	5	7½
— Bristol	350	22	16	5½

The Bishop of Norwich made a free gift of 5*l.* towards the expenses.

It has sometimes been stated, that the lawyers who were employed in the defence of the bishops refused to take any fees. This, however, was not the fact. Many items are set down in the account of fees to each of them, of ten guineas, five guineas, &c. Only, in one instance, it is mentioned that Mr. Finch and Sir Robert Sawyer refused a fee of twenty guineas, which was given to the rest.

nothing?" he replied, "but so much the worse for them." Bonfires were made, and the bells of all the churches rung, not only in London, but in the greater part of the country towns, as soon as the intelligence of the acquittal reached them, although the strictest orders were given to prevent such proceedings. So strong was the general feeling, that though several persons were indicted at the next sessions for Middlesex for riotous behaviour*, yet the grand jury would not find bills against them, although they were sent out no less than three times. It is stated further, that the churches in London were crowded on that forenoon with multitudes eager to pour forth the overflowings of their gratitude to God for this great deliverance. "O! what a sight was that!" says Nichols†, "to behold the people crowding into the churches to return thanks to God for so great a blessing, with the greatest earnestness and ecstacy of joy, lifting up their hands to heaven; to see illuminations in every window, and bonfires at every door, and to hear the bells throughout all the city ringing out peals of joy for the wonderful deliverance."

The prelates themselves, immediately after their acquittal, went to Whitehall chapel to return thanks. It happened to be St. Peter's Day, and it was remarked‡, that the Epistle was singularly appropriate, being part of the 12th chapter of the Acts, recording Peter's miraculous deliverance from prison. They then returned to their respective homes, followed by the acclamations of the multitude.

Congratulations, as may be supposed, flowed in upon the archbishop, and the bishops who were associated with him, from various quarters. Among others, the Prince of Orange, who, least of all, could be indifferent to the event of this trial, sent to congratulate with him and the other bishops, through Compton, bishop of London; with whom he at that time maintained a correspondence. The following is an extract from the bishops' answer to the prince, which happens to be preserved.

* See RERESBY'S *Memoirs*.

† See NICHOLS'S *Introduction to the Defence of the Church of England*, p. 106.

‡ See a handbill, *Great and good news to the Church of England*, 1700.

“ *July 28, 1688.*

—— “ The honour your royal highness did me in laying the charge upon me to communicate to my lords the bishops how much you are concerned in their behalf, had its just effect upon them; for they are highly sensible of the great advantage both they and the Church have, by the firmness of so powerful a friend; and, as I dare undertake, they shall never make an ill use of it, so I am very sure they will entirely rely upon it on all just occasions. I dare likewise take upon me to assure you, that both they that suffered and the rest who concurred with them, are so well satisfied of the justice of their cause, that they will lay down their lives before they will in the least depart from it*.”

The archbishop's intimate friend, who was subsequently his fellow-sufferer in deprivation, Dr. Lloyd, bishop of Norwich, thus expressed the warmth of his feelings on the gratifying occasion†.

“ May it please your Grace,

“ *Norc. July 2, 1688.*

“ To give me leave, among the thousands in these parts, heartily to congratulate with you and your late companions in trouble, for the most joyful and acceptable news we had this day by the post; namely, your acquittal from crime endeavoured to be fixed upon you. I do assure your Grace it hath mightily revived our drooping spirits; and I beseech God to make us all truly sensible of, and sincerely thankful for, so great a mercy. I know your Grace hath now work enough upon your hands; and therefore it would be the greatest impertinency to interrupt you upon those great affairs. Wherefore I heartily bless God for your safety, and thereby for his great and singular mercies vouchsafed to His Church; and am, as in duty bound,

“ Your Grace's most obedient servant,

“ *WILLIAM NORWICH.*”

The following letter‡ from Sir George Mackenzie to the archbishop is remarkable, as attesting the interest which the

* See MACPHERSON'S *State Papers*.

‡ Tann. MSS. v. 28. No. 88.

† See Tann. MSS. v. 28. No. 89.

Presbyterians of Scotland took in the stand made by the English bishops against the encroachments of Popery.

“ May it please your Grace,

“ It will doubtless be strange news to hear that the bishops of England are in great veneration among the Presbyterians of Scotland ; and I am glad that reason has retained so much of its old empire amongst men. But I hope it will be no news to your Grace, to hear that no man was more concerned in the safety of your consciences and persons than, may it please your Grace,

“ Your Grace’s most humble Servant,

“ GEO. MACKENZIE.”

Nothing indeed could exceed the enthusiastic reverence and admiration with which the seven prelates were at this time viewed by the whole nation. They were hailed as the great champions of the liberties of their country. Their portraits were seen in every shop, and eagerly bought up ; medals were struck to commemorate the great occasion of their trial and deliverance ; they were compared to the seven golden candlesticks, and were called the seven stars of the Protestant Church. Everything conspired to show how strongly the public feeling was now excited by the intemperate and illegal measures of James, and gave no doubtful presage of the important change which was at hand.

It is scarcely possible to conceive a more imprudent or impolitic measure than this of bringing the bishops to a public trial. It contributed, there can be little doubt, more than any other single event, to produce the revolution that ensued, by inflaming to an extraordinary degree the ferment in the public mind against the arbitrary proceedings of James. The personal virtues and unoffending demeanour of the prelates, the respectful terms in which their petition was drawn up, viewed in comparison with the harshness and indignity with which they were treated, contributed no less than the popularity of the cause itself, to excite most strongly the public feeling in their favour. Even had the court party succeeded in procuring the conviction of the bishops, they would

undoubtedly have lost more by the increased ferment in the public mind, than they would have gained by the triumph of success. But, as the matter really ended, covering the promoters of the prosecution with disappointment, and affording the warmest exultation to the accused, it gave confidence and boldness to the opponents of the government measures, and carried the tide of popular feeling with them in a manner which could not afterwards be resisted*.

* King James soon became sensible of the error he had committed in the prosecution of the bishops. Lord Clarendon, in his *Diary*, (July 5th,) states as follows :

"In the morning I was with my Lord Chancellor : he told me he found the king a little troubled that the bishops had been brought to their trial ; that he seemed to be in a milder temper than he had been ; and he hoped he might be persuaded to take moderate counsels. Now, says my lord, honest men, both lords and others, (though the king had used them hardly,) should appear often at court ; I am sure it would do good. He advised I would sometimes come to him, that by me he might have a correspondence with the archbishop, which it was yet too soon for him to have openly." It is curious to observe James's own remarks on this affair of the bishops in his *Life of Himself*, (see MACPHERSON'S *State Papers*, v. i. 151.) "The bishops address against it (the Declaration for liberty of conscience), thinking it illegal to dispense with all sort of laws, in cases contrary to the very designs of the law. The chancellor advised the king to summon the bishops before the council : they, perhaps, had some motive in forcing the king to imprison them, for he would not only have taken their recognizance, but even their word, for their appearance : both were refused, because an imprisonment would inflame the nation, and prevent the archbishop from

being at the queen's delivery."—It appears from the account before given of the bishops' appearance before the privy council, that the above statement is not quite correct ; at least, they did not understand that they might be set at liberty on giving their word for their appearance. In another passage, (MACPHERSON, v. i. 152.) the king accounts for his own precipitate and rash conduct in the following remarkable passage.

"In the case of the bishops, there is no doubt that the king had done better in not forcing some wheels when he found the whole machine stop. But it was his misfortune to give too much ear to the pernicious advice of those who put him upon such dangerous counsels, with intent to widen the breach between him and his subjects. But his prepossession against the yielding temper which had proved so dangerous to his brother, and fatal to the king his father, fixed him in a contrary method. He had always preached against the wavering counsels of his brother, and seeing that other bishops made not the same difficulty, and since many complied, he thought the rest ought to do the same. The king therefore gave more easily in to the chancellor's opinion, who thought that a mere reprimand was not sufficient. It was, however, a fatal counsel : for besides the common reasons against it, nothing ought to have made the king more cautious in the matter, than the present conjuncture, on account of the

queen's being with child. It was that gave the alarm, and by consequence, required greater attention to avoid every cause of complaint."

The French king, as might be expected, was not backward in applauding the conduct of King James on this occasion. Skelton, the ambassador at Paris, in a letter to Lord Sunderland,

June 16, 1688, says, "His Christian Majesty was pleased to take notice to me of the imprisonment of the bishops, and very much 'applauds the king's resolution in that affair, and said he was ready to give his majesty all manner of assistance." — See MACPHERSON'S *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 264.

CHAPTER VII.

PERIOD IMMEDIATELY PRECEDING THE REVOLUTION.

Articles of Instruction from the Archbishop to the Clergy—Scheme of Comprehension projected by him—Progress of things towards the Revolution—King James sends for the Archbishop and other Bishops—The Archbishop's Address of Advice to him—Consequences of this Advice—Umbrage given by these Interviews—Letter of Mr. Evelyn to the Archbishop on the subject.

PERHAPS there are not many persons, who, had they been circumstanced as King James now was, would not have felt the necessity, after the failure in this important affair of the bishops' trial, and on perceiving the inflamed state to which the public mind was brought, of endeavouring to retrace the false steps they had made, and to regain, by measures of conciliation, their lost popularity. But the effect on the mind of James was the very reverse. Either from the impulse of his own headstrong temper, and from the prejudice which, as he acknowledges himself, he had conceived against everything that could seem to result from a yielding disposition, or from the violent counsels of those who were too much blinded by bigoted zeal to perceive the certain consequences of the measures they recommended, he not only showed no symptoms of altering his course of conduct, but evinced a positive determination to persevere in it to the utmost. On the 7th of July*, eight days after the trial, he dismissed from their situations the two judges, Holloway and Powel, who had committed the offence of delivering opinions, favourable to the acquittal of the bishops. Also, on the 12th* of the same month, the Ecclesiastical Commissioners issued an order, directing all chancellors, archdeacons, &c. to send in to them, forthwith, the names of all the parochial clergy who had omitted to read the king's Declaration. This was manifestly done for the purpose of intimidation. The 16th of August was the day appointed for

* See the *London Gazette* for July, 1688.

receiving those returns. But the clergy wholly slighted the order; the commissioners met, and no returns were made: they contented themselves with making a fresh order for the returns by the 15th of November. In the mean time, the Commission was dissolved, and the near approach of the Revolution put an end to the affair.

At an early period after this prosecution, Archbishop Sancroft gave sufficient proof that he was not to be daunted by the frowns of power from doing his duty in that manner which his conscience dictated. In the middle of the ensuing July, he issued the following admonitions to the clergy of his province, through the bishops; in which he not only called them to the discharge of their pastoral duties in general, with that diligence, zeal, and discretion, which the existing condition of the Church demanded, but especially pressed upon them the necessity of vigilance against the attempts of Popish emissaries, who were at this time actively employed in seducing the people from the faith and doctrines of the Protestant Church.

In the printed copies, these articles of advice are introduced by the following letter. By whom, or to whom it is written, does not appear.

“ Sir,

London, July 27th, 1688.

“ Yesterday the Archbishop of Canterbury delivered the articles which I send you enclosed, to those bishops who are present in this place; and ordered copies of them to be likewise sent in his name to the absent bishops. By the contents of them, you will see that the storm, in which he is, does not frighten him from doing his duty; but rather awakens him to do it with so much the more vigour; and, indeed, the zeal that he expresses in these articles, both against the corruptions of the Church of Rome on the one hand, and the unhappy differences that are among Protestants on the other, are such apostolical things, that all good men rejoice to see so great a prelate at the head of our Church, who, in this critical time, has had the courage to do his duty in so signal a manner.

“ I am, Sir, yours.”

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Some heads of things to be more fully insisted upon by the Bishops in their Addresses to the Clergy and people of their respective Dioceses.

I. That the clergy often read over the forms of their ordination; and seriously consider what solemn vows and professions they made therein to God and His Church, together with the several oaths and subscriptions they have taken and made upon divers occasions.

II. That, in compliance with those and other obligations, they be active and zealous in all the parts and instances of their duty, and especially strict and exact in all holy conversation, that so they may become examples to the flock.

III. To this end, that they be constantly resident upon their cures in their incumbent houses, and keep sober hospitality there, according to their ability.

IV. That they diligently catechise the children and youth of their parishes, (as the rubric of the Common Prayer Book and the 59th canon enjoin,) and so prepare them to be brought in due time to confirmation, when there shall be opportunity: and that they also at the same time expound the grounds of religion and the common Christianity in the method of the Catechism, for the instruction and benefit of the whole parish, teaching them what they are to believe, and what to do, and what to pray for; and particularly often and earnestly inculcating upon them the importance and obligation of their baptismal vows.

V. That they perform the daily office publicly (with all decency, affection, and gravity,) in all market and other great towns; and even in villages and less populous places, bring people to public prayers as frequently as may be; especially on such days and at such times as the rubric and canons appoint; on holy days, and their eves, on Ember and Rogation days, on Wednesdays and Fridays, in each week; especially in Advent and Lent.

VI. That they use their utmost endeavour, both in their sermons and by private applications, to prevail with such of their flock as are of competent age to receive frequently the Holy Communion; and to this end, that they administer it in the greater towns once in every month, and even in the lesser too, if communi-

cants may be procured, or, however, as often as they may: and that they take all due care, both by preaching and otherwise, to prepare all for the worthy receiving of it.

VII. That in their sermons they teach and inform their people (four times a year at the least, as the first canon requires,) that all usurped and foreign jurisdiction is, for most just causes, taken away and abolished in this realm, and no manner of obedience or subjection due to the same, or to any that pretend to act by virtue of it; but that, the king's power being in his dominions highest under God, they upon all occasions persuade the people to loyalty and obedience to his Majesty in all things lawful, and to patient submission in the rest; promoting (as far as in them lies) the public peace, and quiet of the world.

VIII. That they maintain fair correspondence (full of the kindest respects of all sorts) with the gentry and persons of quality in their neighbourhood, as being sensible what seasonable assistance and countenance this poor Church hath received from them in her necessities.

IX. That they often exhort all those of our communion to continue steadfast to the end in their most holy faith, and constant to their profession; and to that end, to take heed of all seducers, and especially of Popish emissaries, who are now in great numbers gone forth amongst them, and more busy and active than ever. And that they take all occasions to convince our own, that it is not enough for them to be members of an excellent Church, rightly and duly reformed, both in faith and worship, unless they do also reform and amend their own lives, and so order their conversation in all things as becomes the Gospel of Christ.

X. And forasmuch as those Romish emissaries, like the old serpent, *insidiantur calcaneo*, are wont to be most busy and troublesome to our people at the end of their lives, labouring to unsettle and perplex them in time of sickness, and at the hour of death; that therefore all who have the cure of souls, be more especially vigilant over them at that dangerous season; that they stay not till they be sent for, but inquire out the sick in their respective parishes, and visit them frequently; that they examine them particularly concerning the state of their souls, and instruct

them in their duties, and settle them in their doubts, and comfort them in their sorrows and sufferings, and pray often with them and for them; and by all the methods which our Church prescribes, prepare them for the due and worthy receiving of the Holy Eucharist, the pledge of their happy resurrection: thus with their utmost diligence watching over every sheep within their fold (especially in that critical moment) lest those evening wolves devour them.

XI. That they also walk in wisdom towards those that are not of our communion; and if there be in their parishes any such, that they neglect not frequently to confer with them in the spirit of meekness, seeking by all good ways and means to gain and win them over to our communion: more especially, that they have a very tender regard to our brethren the Protestant Dissenters; that upon occasion offered, they visit them at their houses, and receive them kindly at their own, and treat them fairly wherever they meet them, discoursing calmly and civilly with them; persuading them (if it may be) to a full compliance with our Church, or at least that "whereto we have already attained, we may all walk by the same rule, and mind the same thing." And in order hereunto, that they take all opportunities of assuring and convincing them, that the bishops of this Church are really and sincerely irreconcilable enemies to the errors, superstitions, idolatries, and tyrannies of the Church of Rome; and that the very unkind jealousies which some have had of us to the contrary, were altogether groundless. And, in the last place, that they warmly and most affectionately exhort them to join with us in daily fervent prayer to the God of Peace, for the universal blessed union of all reformed Churches both at home and abroad against our common enemies; that all they, who do confess the holy name of our dear Lord, and do agree in the truth of His holy word, may also meet in one holy communion, and live in perfect unity and godly love.

The Protestant Dissenters showed at this time a peculiarly mild disposition towards the Established Church, partly from the pressing danger of Popery, which naturally tended to unite all Protestants in mutual good feeling, and in views of mutual

support; and partly from the admiration and gratitude which they felt for the firm and dignified stand, which the members of the Church had made, so much to their honour, both by their unanswerable writings and by their public measures, against the designs of the Roman Catholics. In consequence of this temper now displayed by the Protestant Dissenters, Archbishop Sancroft was induced to set on foot a scheme of comprehension*, in which his purpose seems to have been, to make such alterations in the Liturgy and in the discipline of the Church, in points not deemed of essential and primary importance, as might prove the means, through corresponding concessions on the part of the more moderate Dissenters, of admitting them within its pale. It were to be wished, as matter of curious information, that we possessed more knowledge than has reached us, of the details of the plan which he proposed, and of the extent to which he proceeded in it. Our principal information respecting it is derived from the speech of Dr. Wake, delivered by him some years after, when Bishop of Lincoln, at the trial of Dr. Sacheverel. This prelate, in consequence of the misrepresentations which were industriously made of this scheme, which had been termed a popular engine to pull down the Church, was induced to enter into a short detail of what had really been intended. He stated†, that the person who first concerted this supposed design against our Church was the late most reverend Dr. Sancroft, then Archbishop of Canterbury. "The time was towards the end of the late unhappy reign, when we were in the height of our labours in defending the Church of England against the assaults of Popery, and thought of nothing else. At this time, that wise prelate, foreseeing a revolution such as that which soon after occurred, began to consider how utterly unprepared they had been at the Restoration of King Charles II. to settle many things to the advantage of the Church; and what a happy opportunity had been lost, for want of such previous care, for its more perfect establishment. It was visible to all the nation, that the more moderate Dissenters were generally so well satisfied with that stand which our divines had made against Popery, and the many unanswerable treatises they had published in confutation

* See ECHARD, p. 1107.

† See SACHEVEREL's *Trial*.

of it, as to express an unusual readiness to come within the pale of the Church. And it was therefore thought worth while, when the leading members of the Church were deliberating about those other matters, to consider at the same time what might be done to gain the more moderate Dissenters, without doing any prejudice to ourselves."

"The scheme," he proceeds, "was laid out, and the several parts of it were committed, not only with the approbation, but by the direction, of that great prelate, to such of our divines as were thought most worthy to be intrusted with it. His grace took one part himself; another was committed to a pious and reverend person, (Dr. Patrick,) then a dean, and afterwards a bishop of our Church. The reviewing of the daily service of our Liturgy and the Communion-book was referred to a select number of excellent persons, two of whom are at this time upon our bench, (the Archbishop of York*, and the Bishop of Ely†,) and, I am sure, will bear witness to the truth of my relation. The design was, in short, this: to improve, and, if possible, amend our discipline; to review and enlarge our Liturgy by correcting some things, by adding others, and, if it should be thought advisable by authority, when this matter should be legally considered, first in Convocation, then in parliament, by omitting some few ceremonies which are allowed to be indifferent in their nature, also indifferent in their usage, so as not to make them of necessity binding on those who had conscientious scruples respecting them, till they should be able to overcome either their weaknesses or their prejudices respecting them, and be willing to comply.

"How far this good design was not only known to, but approved by, the other fathers of our Church, that famous petition for which seven of them were committed to the Tower, and which contributed so much to our deliverance, may suffice to show. 'The willingness they there declared of coming to such a temper as should be thought fit, with the Dissenters, when that matter should be considered and settled in Parliament and Convocation,' manifestly referred to what was then known to several, if not all, of the subscribers, to have been at that very

* Dr. J. Sharp.

† Dr. J. Mocre.

time under deliberation. And, that nothing more was intended than has been stated, is no less evident from what was publicly declared in a treatise*, purposely written to recommend the design when it was brought before the two Houses of Parliament in the beginning of the late reign, and licensed by the authority of a noble peer, who was at that time Secretary of State. In the very beginning of which is this remarkable passage: 'No alteration, that I know of, is intended but in things declared to be alterable by the Church itself.' And, if things alterable be altered upon the grounds of prudence and charity, and things defective be supplied, and things abused be restored to their proper use, and things of a more ordinary composition revised and improved, whilst the doctrine, government, and worship of the Church remain entire in all the substantial parts of them, we have all reason to believe that this will be so far from injuring the Church, that, on the contrary, it will receive a great benefit from it."

Such is the only account which we possess of the scheme of comprehension projected by Archbishop Sancroft. That it originated on his part from the purest and best of motives, and that his sole object was to give stability to the Church, and to extend the influence of sound religion, can admit of no question. The circumstance of the change of the government taking place so soon afterwards, and of Archbishop Sancroft's retiring from the primacy, manifestly prevented any further proceedings in the matter taking place. A similar attempt was made soon after the revolution: a commission was then issued (Sept. 13, 1689), for preparing alterations in the Liturgy and Canons, and several meetings took place among those who were appointed commissioners; this was projected with the avowed purpose of bringing back to the communion of the Church, many who were seceders; but difficulties arose, and the attempt proved abortive. Judging from the result of that later attempt, and from the similar results which have generally followed from plans of this description, we may conjecture, with some probability, that, although all would have been effected by Archbishop Sancroft, which could be effected by a spirit of conciliation, mixed with sound wisdom, firmness,

* The author has not been able to meet with the treatise here spoken of.

and discretion, the scheme which he projected, had he been enabled to persevere in it, would not have been attended with any successful result.

In the mean time, by the continued and less disguised attempts of King James against the liberties of his subjects, and the safety of the Protestant Church, matters were fast drawing to a crisis. The Protestants became every day more and more convinced that nothing less than open resistance could preserve to them the enjoyment of their religious profession; and all eyes were turned towards Holland, as the quarter whence deliverance was to spring. The Prince of Orange, in consequence of the numerous and strong solicitations he had received from persons of various ranks and interests in England, had come to the resolution of undertaking an expedition for the express purpose of saving the kingdom and the Protestant Church from the dangers which threatened to overwhelm them. In consequence, he had employed the earlier part of the year in making such preparations as had more the appearance of providing for the security of his own states, than of meditating anything hostile against another. But, as the autumn drew on, he was obliged to take other measures in collecting troops, artillery and arms, which unequivocally marked the design of undertaking a foreign expedition. While this storm was gathering, James alone remained unconscious of his danger. Blinded by his passions, and given over to infatuated counsels, he vainly hoped for success to measures from which every other eye saw that his ruin must ensue; and when preparations were making, the object of which was to all the world too plain to be mistaken, he alone remained in ignorance of their real destination*. At last, about the middle of September, he first became convinced of the purpose of the intended expedition from Holland; by a letter, as it is said, from Louis XIV†. On receiving it, he

* It is thought that his ignorance of what was in agitation was partly owing to the treachery of those who served him: for his minister, the Earl of Sunderland, having the command of the foreign correspondences, is suspected of having concealed from him whatever he pleased.—DALRYMPLE'S *Memoirs*, 141.

† See DALRYMPLE'S *Memoirs*, p. 141. It is remarkable that, during the whole of this summer and autumn, James had kept up a constant correspondence with the Prince of Orange, in which he evidently shows some distrust and jealousy of him, but still preserves tolerably well the outward

turned pale and stood motionless, and the letter dropped from his hand; striving to conceal his perturbation from his courtiers, he more plainly betrayed it; and they, in affecting not to observe his emotion, showed no less plainly that they did perceive it. The immediate effect of the discovery, and of the alarm which overwhelmed him, was to make him recur with hurried precipitation to milder measures of government, for the purpose of regaining his lost popularity. Accordingly, on September 21st*, he published a Declaration, expressing that it was his resolution to preserve inviolable the Church of England; that he was willing the Roman Catholics should remain excluded from the House of Commons; and assuring his loving subjects, that he should be ready to do everything else for their safety and advantage, that becomes a king who will always take care of his people. Five days afterwards, he declared his intention of restoring to the commission of the peace those gentlemen who had been displaced. But matters had already advanced too far for these concessions to have any effect. Although ostensibly proceeding from his own free will, they were manifestly extorted from him by fear. All confidence in him, on the part of the people, was forfeited; and his devotion to the Catholic cause was known to be such, that he would certainly recur to his violent measures for establishing it, as soon as the fear of consequences was again removed.

But, what was the most striking effect of the alarm into which he was now thrown, he condescended to ask advice of those very persons whom he had so lately treated with hasty and inconsiderate violence, the Archbishop of Canterbury and the rest of the bishops. It is sufficiently manifest that, from knowing the high ground of popularity on which they stood, principally on account of their firm resistance to his arbitrary measures, he was desirous of renewing their attachment to his person, and of employing their mediation for the purpose of regaining the affections of the people.

On the 24th of September, the following letter was dis-

appearances of affection. He concludes his last letter, dated September 17, as he had done most of the others, "You shall find me as kind to you as you can

expect:" and directs, "For my son the Prince of Orange."—DALRYMPLE'S *Memoirs*, Appendix, p. 294.

* See KENNETT, iii. 489.

patched to the Archbishop of Canterbury, from the Earl of Sunderland*.

“ My Lord,

“ The king thinking it requisite to speak with your Grace, and several others of the bishops, who are within a convenient distance of this place, his majesty commands me to acquaint you that he would have you attend him on Friday next, at ten o'clock in the morning.

“ I am, my Lord,

“ Your Grace's most faithful and most humble servant,

“ SUNDERLAND.”

Letters to the same purpose, and of about the same date, were sent to the bishops of London, Winchester, Ely, Chichester, Bath and Wells, Peterborough, Bristol and Rochester; and all of these, except the bishops of London and Bristol, immediately came to town. The Archbishop of Canterbury was confined at Lambeth by illness, on the day appointed for waiting on the king. The other bishops attended the summons.

At this first interview, nothing passed † between the king and the bishops, except general expressions of his favour to them on the one hand, and of their duty to him on the other. However, the king lost no time in informing the people that a conciliatory interview had taken place between himself and the bishops; for he published a notice in the *Gazette* of September 30th, that “ several of my lords the bishops having attended his majesty on Friday last, he was pleased, among other gracious expressions, to let them know, that he would signify his pleasure for taking off the suspension of the Lord Bishop of London, which is done accordingly ‡.”

After this interview, the bishops who attended appear to have been by no means satisfied with the result of it; conceiving that they had not taken as much advantage as they might of so favourable an opportunity for addressing to the king that bold but necessary advice, in which his own best interests, as well as

* Tann. MSS. v. 28. No. 128, &c.

† See Bishop SPERAT's *Two Letters to the Earl of Dorset*.

‡ KENNETT, iii. 489.

those of the Church and of the country, were so deeply involved. In consequence, they entreated the archbishop to procure for them a second and more particular audience, in which they might all deliver their plain and sincere sense of things, in that manner which the dangerous condition of the Church and State then required from persons of their character. Accordingly, on the following Sunday, (September 30th,) the archbishop waited on the king, and obtained his consent that the bishops should be admitted to full liberty of speech with him on the morning of the following Tuesday (October 2).

The whole of Monday, the day preceding that appointed for the interview, was spent by the bishops in close conference with the archbishop, respecting the advice which it might be proper for them to offer on the following day. Bishop Sprat remarks, that the heads of advice were agreed upon and drawn up at Lambeth Palace, on the very same day* as that on which the Declaration of the Prince of Orange is dated, and that the matter of the two is very nearly the same, with the exception of one or two particulars which were too high for subjects to meddle with.

It happened that the king was accidentally prevented from admitting the bishops to the intended interview on Tuesday, and their attendance was, in consequence, postponed till the following day. Bishop Sprat† laments the intervention of this delay, inasmuch as it deprived themselves and the Church of the credit which they would otherwise have had with the world, of having procured the restoration of the charter of the city of London. He states that the bishops, from the beginning of their consultations, had intended to make this one of their principal petitions; and he conjectures that the king, having received private information of their intention, thought it best to forestall their petition by making the restoration of the charter the act of his own free grace. It seems, however, hardly necessary to suppose that King James had received private information of their intentions;

* The 1st of October O. S., corresponding with the 10th of October N. S., the date of the Prince of Orange's

Declaration.—See *History of the Desertion*, p. 47.

† See SPRAT's *Letters to the Earl of Dorset*.

for he must have felt that the seizure of this charter was one of the most offensive acts which he had committed; and in the disposition in which he now was, of treading back his imprudent and impolitic steps, it was natural that the recalling of this measure should be one of the first means that occurred to him of endeavouring to recover the good-will of the people. However this may be, it is certain that, on the evening of the Tuesday on which the bishops were to have waited on him, he publicly declared in the Council, to several citizens of London, his purpose of immediately restoring their charter. Thus, when the bishops waited on him the following day, they had nothing to do but to return thanks for the act which they had intended should form one of the subjects of their petition.

On the morning of Wednesday, October 3rd, all the bishops who remained in town, with the Archbishop of Canterbury at their head, waited on the king; when the archbishop, in the name of the rest, addressed him in the following terms*. He delivered their free and honest advice on this occasion, with a degree of becoming meekness, gravity and courage, which were truly admirable†. Even Bishop Burnet allows‡, that the bishops delivered their advice "with great gravity, and with a courage that recommended them to the whole nation."

"May it please your sacred Majesty,

"When I had lately the honour to wait upon you, you were pleased briefly to acquaint me with what had passed two days before between your majesty and these my reverend brethren: by which, and by the account they themselves gave me, I perceived that, in truth, there passed nothing but in very general terms, and expressions of your majesty's gracious and favourable inclinations to the Church of England, and of our reciprocal duty and loyalty to your majesty: both which were sufficiently understood and declared before; and (as one of my brethren then told you) would have been in the same state, if the bishops had not stirred one foot out of their dioceses. Sir, I found it grieved my lords the bishops to have come so far, and

* See Tann. MSS.—Ibid.

† See Bishop SPRAT's *Two Letters*.

‡ BURNET'S *Own Times*, v. i. 781.

to have done so little : and I am assured, they came then prepared to have given your majesty some more particular instances of their duty, and zeal for your service ; had they not apprehended from some words which fell from your majesty, that you were not then at leisure to receive them. It was for this reason, that I then besought your majesty to command us once more to attend you all together ; which your majesty was pleased graciously to allow and encourage. We are therefore here now before you, with all humility, to beg your permission, that we may suggest to your majesty such advices as we think proper at this season, and conducing to your service, and so leave them to your princely consideration."

Which the king being graciously pleased to permit, the archbishop proceeded as followeth : "Our humble advice is :—1st. That your majesty will be graciously pleased to put the management of your government in the several counties into the hands of such of the nobility and gentry there as are legally qualified for it.

2nd. "That your majesty will be graciously pleased to annul your commission for ecclesiastical affairs, and that no such court, as that commission sets up, may be erected for the future.

3rd. "That your majesty will be graciously pleased, that no dispensation may be granted or continued, by virtue whereof any person, not duly qualified by law, hath been or may be put into any place, office, or preferment in church or state, or in the universities, or continued in the same ; especially such as have cure of souls annexed to them : and in particular, that you will be graciously pleased to restore the president and fellows of St. Mary Magdalen College, in Oxford.

4th. "That your majesty will be graciously pleased to set aside all licenses, or faculties already granted, by which any persons of the Romish communion may pretend to be enabled to teach public schools, and that no such be granted for the future.

5th. "That your majesty will be graciously pleased to desist from the exercise of such a dispensing power as hath of late been used ; and to permit that point to be freely and calmly debated and argued, and finally settled in Parliament.

6th. "That your majesty will be graciously pleased to inhibit

the four foreign bishops*, who style themselves vicars apostolical, from further invading the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, which is by law vested in the bishops of this church.

7th. "That your majesty will be graciously pleased to fill the vacant bishoprics, and other ecclesiastical promotions within your gift, both in England and Ireland, with men of learning and piety: and, in particular, (which I must own to be my peculiar boldness, for it is done without the privity of my brethren,) that you will be graciously pleased forthwith to fill the archiepiscopal chair of York†, (which has so long stood empty, and upon which a whole province depends,) with some very worthy person: for which (pardon me, sir, if I am bold to say,) you have here now before you a very fair choice.

8th. "That your majesty will be graciously pleased to supersede all further prosecution of *quo warrantos* against corporations, and to restore to them their ancient charters, privileges, and franchises; as we hear God hath put it into your majesty's heart to do for the city of London; which we intended to have made otherwise one of our principal requests.

9th. "That, if it so please your majesty, writs may be issued with convenient speed, for the calling of a free and regular Parliament; in which the Church of England may be secured according to the Acts of Uniformity; provision may be made for a due liberty of conscience, and for securing the liberties and properties of all your subjects; and a mutual confidence and good understanding may be established between your majesty and all your people.

10th. "Above all, that your majesty will be graciously pleased to permit your bishops to offer you such motives and arguments as (we trust,) may, by God's grace, be effectual to persuade

* These four Popish bishops had been recently consecrated in the king's chapel, and sent out to exercise episcopal functions in their respective dioceses; they had dispersed their pastoral letters under the express permission of the king.

† The archbishopric of York had been kept vacant since April, 1686,

when Archbishop Dolben died. It was generally supposed that the king had the intention of appointing a Papist, Father Petre, to it. He afterwards appointed Dr. Lamplugh, bishop of Exeter, who fled to him from Exeter, on the landing of the Prince of Orange.

your majesty to return to the communion of the Church of England: into whose most catholic faith you were baptized, and in which you were educated, and to which it is our daily earnest prayer to God that you may be reunited.

"These, Sir, are the humble advices which, out of conscience of the duty we owe to God, to your majesty, and to our country, we think fit at this time to offer to your majesty, as suitable to the present state of your affairs, and most conducing to your service, and so to leave them to your princely consideration. And we heartily beseech Almighty God, 'in whose hand the hearts of all kings are, so to dispose and govern your's, that in all your thoughts, words, and works, you may ever seek his honour and glory, and study to preserve the people committed to your charge in wealth, peace, and godliness,' to your own both temporal and eternal happiness. Amen.

"W. CANT.

"We also do heartily concur.

"H. LONDON.

FRAN. ELY.

"P. WINCHESTER.

JO. CICESTR.

"W. ASAPH.

THO. ROFFEN.

THO. BATH & WELLS.

T. PETRIBURG."

Advice so bold and undisguised from the archbishop and bishops, against whom the king's irritation had lately been so great, would not have been endured by him a few weeks before; but, humbled as he now was by the immediate foresight and apprehension of the bitter consequences of his ill-advised and imprudent measures, the whole nation in a ferment, his authority at home greatly loosened by the general discontent, and a foreign invasion immediately threatening his shores, he gave it a favourable acceptance. He even thanked the bishops for the advice they had given, and promised that he would comply with it. He soon gave proof that for this time, at least, he was sincere in the intention of performing what he promised; but, probably for the sake of preserving appearances, and of inducing the nation to suppose that the change of his several measures arose from the spontaneous decisions of his own mind, he chose to

make the concessions one by one. Accordingly, two days after this interview with the bishops, October 5th, he dissolved the Ecclesiastical Commission. On the 10th, he signified his intention of redressing the irregularities and abuses arising from the late regulation of the corporations. Two days after, October 12th, he signified his pleasure to the Bishop of Winchester, the visitor of Magdalen College, Oxford, that he should immediately settle that society regularly and statutably, by reinstating those members who had been violently ejected. And, October 17th, he published a proclamation for restoring corporations to their ancient charters, liberties, rights, and franchises.

All these concessions came too late to produce any effectual results beneficial to the king. Had they been made at an earlier period, they might have been hailed by the nation as produced by a real change of disposition in him, and as affording an earnest of his sincere intention to follow, for the future, such counsels as accorded with the feelings and the wishes of his people. But, under existing circumstances, it was too manifest that they were extorted from him by his fears, and by the dangers that pressed upon him. Indeed, all confidence in him was completely lost; and the public prejudices against him were so inflamed, that every event was now construed to his disadvantage, and blame imputed to him by general opinion, even when it was not due*.

* The most striking instance of the want of confidence of the public in King James's promises at this period, was afforded in the reports which were spread, and generally believed at the time, that he revoked his declared intention of restoring the members of Magdalen College, at Oxford, as soon as his hopes of carrying his measures were revived by the intelligence of the dispersion of the Prince of Orange's fleet. But it has clearly appeared, from documents since published, that there was not the smallest foundation for these rumours, and that the delay which took place was entirely occasioned by the visitor, the Bishop of Winchester. It was on the 12th of October that this bishop received the

king's directions to settle the college regularly and statutably. He left London on the 14th, but instead of going straight to Oxford, went to Farnham in his way. The Archbishop of Canterbury and other bishops, feeling uneasy at this delay, urged him to proceed to Oxford immediately; in consequence, he arrived there on the 20th, with intention of executing his commission the next day, by restoring the members of the college, who were all in readiness, waiting for him. But on this very night he received, by an express which followed him from Farnham, an official letter commanding his attendance at the Privy Council, at ten o'clock on the morning of the 22nd. This was nothing more than a general

At one of the preceding interviews, the Archbishop of Canterbury received the king's commands to compose some public prayers, suited to the state of danger in which the kingdom was then placed, to be used in all churches. He performed this office, which, in the existing state of things, was by no means an easy one, with great judgment and discretion, and even to the satisfaction of the king himself. The petitions were framed generally, without any particular allusion to the causes, or to the nature of the dangers which now threatened, for the preservation of internal peace and the healing of divisions, for the maintenance of the laws and ancient government of the country, and of the holy religion therein professed, for the safety of his majesty's person, the wisdom of his counsels, and the filling his princely heart with a fatherly care of all his people. It was remarked* at the time, that these prayers considerably contributed to confirm the people in the principles of firm resistance to the attempts of James against their religion and laws; that the

notice sent to all the Privy Counsellors to be present at the enrolment of the depositions respecting the birth of the Prince of Wales; but, the purport not being mentioned in the notice, the bishop conceived it to be of such importance as to make it imperative on him to return immediately to London; the Fellows wished him to restore them before he went, and, on his refusal, used rude expressions and behaviour: this made him angry, and he ordered his coachman to drive off. The king, as soon as he saw him, asked him whether he had restored the Fellows; and, on hearing that he had not, commanded him, with expressions of some passion, to return immediately to Oxford and do so; and, on the 25th the President and Fellows were restored. The letter, which accidentally recalled the Bishop of Winchester from Oxford, was written October 19th: the dispersion of the Prince of Orange's fleet did not take place till the 21st, on the evening of which day he put back to Helvoetsluys. Thus it could be only

an extreme readiness to believe everything adverse of James, that could cause the rumour of his retracting his concession in consequence of that event.—See MACPHERSON'S *History of Great Britain*, v. i. p. 518, and *Original State Papers*, v. i. p. 271—5.

Hume expresses himself with proper caution on this subject: he says, "*it was commonly believed* that the king recalled his concessions when the intelligence arrived of a disaster to the Dutch fleet." Bishop Burnet (v. i. p. 784) boldly affirms that "the order for restoring the President and Fellows of Magdalen College was countermanded when the news arrived of the Prince of Orange being put back by a storm."

* See *History of the Desertion*, p. 9. The prayers are found in Archbishop Sancroft's hand-writing in Tann. MSS. v. 28. No. 139. Even Bishop Burnet says (v. i. 784), that "the prayers were so well drawn up that even those who wished for the prince might have joined in them."

very act of praying for the preservation of their holy religion carried their minds to the consideration of the quarter from which it was endangered, and made them reflect that they were not bound to concur and assist, either by their prayers or by their personal exertions, in any undertakings which interfered with their feelings of higher and more important duty.

These interviews between the king and the bishops gave umbrage to some of the public. It was reported at the time, and was very probably true, that they were brought about by the suggestion and contrivance of the king's Popish advisers, who saw the advantage they should derive from exciting the belief that the bishops, who had been extolled as the great champions of the party opposed to the court proceedings, were now reconciled to the king, and had deserted the cause of the people. If such were the motives of those who advised the king, these persons must have been greatly disappointed by the firm conduct of the prelates, who, throughout the whole, as will be further seen, steadily refused to comply with the urgent solicitations of the king to lend their names in any shape to the support of his cause; and adhered to the plan of giving him that honest and wholesome advice which the emergency demanded.

The following letter from the celebrated Mr. Evelyn to the archbishop, while it attests the deep interest which that distinguished person took in the support of the Protestant cause, shows, at the same time, that strong suspicions were awake in the public mind respecting the contrivances of the Popish counsellors in procuring a reconciliation between the king and his bishops*; and seems manifestly to show that his own mind was by no means free from all anxiety on the subject.

“My Lord,

“The honour and reputation which your Grace's piety, prudence, and signal courage have justly merited and obtained, not only from the sons of the Church of England, but even universally from those Protestants among us who are dissenters from her, God Almighty's providence and blessing upon your

* See Tann. MSS. v. 28. No. 137.

Grace's vigilance and extraordinary endeavours will not suffer to be diminished in this conjuncture. The conversations I now and then have with some in place, who have opportunity of knowing what is doing in the most secret recesses of our Church's adversaries, oblige me to acquaint your Lordship, that the calling of your Grace and the rest of the lord bishops to court, and what has there been lately required of you, is only to create, if possible, some jealousies and suspicions among the well-meaning people, of such compliances as, it is certain, they have no cause to apprehend. The whole plan of this (and of all that is to follow of seeming favour thence) is drawn by the Jesuits, who are at this time more busy than ever, to make divisions amongst us, all their other mechanisms and arts having failed them. They have contrived that your lordships the bishops should be summoned to give his majesty advice separately, without any of the rest of the peers, &c.; which, though most maliciously suggested, is generally spread about the town. I do not at all question, but, as your Grace cannot but hear of this, so you will speedily prevent the operation of the venom, and that you will think it very necessary so to do. That your Grace is also enjoined to compose a form of prayer, wherein a great prince is expressly to be named the invader; of the truth of this, I presume to say nothing: but, whatever it be, forasmuch as in all the declarations which hitherto have been published in pretended favour of the Church of England, there is not once any mention of the Reformed, or Protestant religion, but only of the Church of England as by law established, (which Church, the Papists tell us, is the Church of Rome, that is, say they, the Catholic Church of England, which only is established by law, the Church of England in the reformed sense, so established, but by an usurped authority;) the ambiguity of that would be explained, utterly defeat this false construction, and take off all exceptions whatsoever, if, in all extraordinary offices upon these occasions, (and especially at this juncture,) the words Reformed and Protestant were added to that of the Church of England; and whoever threatens to invade, or come with intentions for the prejudice of that Church, in God's name, (be they Dutch or Irish,) let us heartily pray against them.

“ My Lord, this is, I confess, a bold, but honest paper ; and, though I am well assured of your grace’s being perfectly acquainted with all this before, and therefore may blame my impertinence as an *Αλλοτριω-επισκοπος* ; yet I am confident you will not reprove the zeal of one who most humbly implores your Grace’s pardon with your blessing.

“ Your Grace’s most humble

“ And most dutiful servant,

“ *October 10th, —88.*

“ J. E.”

“ My servant, who delivers this to your Grace, is a faithful and trusty young man : I should, however, be glad to receive one line, if your Grace does pardon this presumption, an indispensable occasion detaining me from waiting on your Grace at this instant.”

CHAPTER VIII.

PERIOD PRECEDING THE REVOLUTION.

Interviews of the Archbishop and Bishops with King James respecting their Invitation of the Prince of Orange, and signing a Paper declaring their abhorrence of his Designs—Their steady Refusal—Consequences of this Refusal—The Archbishop not chargeable with inconsistency herein.

WHEN the designs of the Prince of Orange became still more certain, the king again desired an interview with the Archbishop of Canterbury. A note* reached the archbishop at an early hour on the morning of Tuesday, October 16th, acquainting him that, if his health permitted, his majesty desired to speak to him that very morning.

The archbishop waited on the king at the time appointed. His majesty began the conversation by referring to the restoration of Magdalen College, saying that the Bishop of Winchester mistook his meaning, and that he never meant to delay the visitation. He then adverted to the restoring of the corporations, which, he said, should have been done the day before, had not the lawyers differed about the terms of the proclamation. The archbishop told him that he had lately received a letter without a name, complaining of the bad state of the Church in Ireland; particularly of four bishoprics having been long vacant there, the filling of which had formed the seventh head of advice offered to his majesty by the bishops. Some other grievances were mentioned; but, as the archbishop had not the letter with him, the king desired that he would send him a more particular account.

At last the king came to that which appeared to be his chief

* See Tanner's MSS. v. 28. No. 146, 154, 155, &c. The remarkable narrative which follows, is given from Archbishop Sancroft's papers. The account of what took place in the king's closet on the 6th of November, is drawn up by Bishop Sprat, who was probably de-

sired by the archbishop to commit to writing all that he recollected of the conversation. The rest is manifestly committed to paper by the archbishop himself, and is found in his own handwriting.

purpose in sending for the archbishop. He told him that he had now received certain intelligence, that the Prince of Orange was coming to invade England, and to make a conquest of it; and that it would be very much for his service, and a thing very well becoming the bishops, if they would meet together and draw up a paper, expressing their abhorrence of this attempt of the prince. The archbishop told him that, soon after the bishops had waited on him the last time, they supposed his majesty had no further commands for them, and accordingly made haste to return to their respective dioceses, so that there were now none of them in town. The king replied that he understood some of them were either still in town, or were so near that they could be sent for: and, on his still insisting on his former proposal, the archbishop, having first requested leave to speak his sentiments freely, said that he conceived there could be no occasion for such a declaration from the bishops, for he could not believe that the prince had such a design; for which opinion, at the desire of the king, he gave several reasons.

Nothing more passed at this interview; and it does not appear that the king had further communication with any of the prelates, or urged any more the affair of a public declaration from them, till Wednesday, October 31st. On that day, he ordered a letter to be sent to the Bishop of London, requiring him to attend him immediately. The bishop, being absent from home when the message arrived, was unable to obey the summons till the next morning. The king immediately told him, that when he had sent for him he possessed only the Declaration of the States of Holland, but that now the Declaration of the Prince of Orange had fallen into his hands. He then read to the bishop a short paragraph stating that several of the lords spiritual and temporal had invited him over to England. Upon which the bishop said, "I am confident the rest of the bishops would as readily answer in the negative as myself:" and the king was pleased to say, that he believed them all innocent. He next told the bishop that he thought it requisite they should make some public declaration of their innocence in this matter, and also declare their abhorrence of the prince's design. The bishop told him that this was a matter to be considered. The king replied that every one must answer for

himself, but he would send for the Archbishop of Canterbury, who should call them together.

Accordingly, on the same day, the archbishop received a summon to wait upon the king the next day, (November 2nd,) and bring with him such others of the bishops as were in London.

On his arrival at Whitehall, he found already in attendance the Bishops of London, Durham, Chester, and St. David's. When they were admitted into the closet, the king told them that he had seized a person who had brought into the city a great number of the Prince of Orange's Declarations, and had begun to disperse them; that he had a copy at hand, in which, says he to the bishops, is a passage that concerns you. Having desired the secretary to read the passage, he said that he did not believe a word of it, that he was fully satisfied of the innocence of the bishops, and the falsehood of the accusation; notwithstanding, he thought it fit to acquaint them with it, and this was the occasion of his sending for them at this time.

The archbishop, having thanked his majesty for his good opinion so frankly and graciously expressed, spoke to the following purpose: That he owed to his majesty a natural allegiance, having been born in his kingdom; that he had oftentimes confirmed this allegiance by taking voluntarily the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and that he could have at once but one king; that, as his majesty well knew, he never worshipped the rising sun, nor made court to any but his king; and to him he did, as often as he was pleased to receive it. Further, as to this particular charge, and his personal concern in it, he averred it to be utterly false; that so far had he been from inviting in any manner the said prince to make this attempt, he had never made any application to him; and, further, that he did not know, and could not believe, that any of his brethren the bishops had given the prince any such invitation. The Bishop of London said, he had given the king his answer the day before: the Bishop of Durham said, I am sure I am none of them: nor I, nor I, said the other two.

The preceding address of the archbishop to the king is very remarkable, when connected with his subsequent conduct in

refusing to take the oaths to King William. It shows that he had at this time the same strong feeling of the impossibility of transferring his allegiance from King James to another which he afterwards entertained; and, as he spontaneously touches upon this topic, which was quite distinct from the subject on which the king was speaking to him, it may be surmised that he already foresaw, or suspected, in some of those who had invited the Prince of Orange, a design of transferring to him the possession of the throne.

After these declarations from the archbishop and bishops, the king repeated more than once his former declaration, that he verily believed the whole charge to be a groundless aspersion upon the bishops; nevertheless, he required that some such denial should be published, saying it would be for his service: still he would not allow time to send for the absent bishops, but commanded the archbishop to call together as many of them as he could, and to consider with them, what was fit to be done in order to vindicate themselves from this accusation. He then expressed the hope, that, when they met, they would resolve upon a paper, or apology for themselves in writing, which, when prepared, the archbishop should bring to him, (or rather send it, he said to the archbishop, for I would not endanger your health; for which his royal compassion the archbishop gave him thanks.) And then, he proceeded to say, the paper, being approved by me, may, by you, the metropolitan, be sent to the absent bishops for their concurrence.

During all this time, not a word had passed about their expressing their abhorrence of the Prince of Orange's design. At last, the king said, "You may do well, and it will be very much for my service, if in your paper you express your dislike of the prince's design;" to which, though he said it twice, neither the archbishop nor any of the bishops who were present, gave the slightest answer.

The next day, Saturday, November 3rd, the Bishops of London and Rochester waited on the archbishop by appointment, to confer on this matter; and, understanding that the Bishop of Peterborough was not far from town, they agreed that he should be sent for, and that they should all meet again on the Monday

following, for further consultation. During this time, the king was very impatient for the result. On the Sunday, he sent Lord Preston to the archbishop to require him to expedite, as much as possible, the return to the proposal. The archbishop explained to him that he had taken the proper steps for complying with his majesty's commands with as little delay as possible.

On Monday, November 5th, the bishops all met at Lambeth Palace, according to appointment; and, after due deliberation and debate, unanimously agreed upon the line they should take, and the answers to which they should hold, when admitted to an audience with the king. The archbishop immediately sent word that they were prepared to wait upon his majesty; and the next morning, between ten and eleven o'clock, was fixed for the purpose.

Accordingly, on Tuesday, November 6th, the Archbishop of Canterbury, with the Bishops of London, Rochester, and Peterborough, came together to Whitehall. On arriving there, they found the Bishop of St. David's (Watson *), waiting to go in with them to the king; but, not wishing to making him a party to what passed between the king and themselves, they requested that their audience might be private, and procured his exclusion.

On their admission into the closet, the archbishop began to this effect:—

“Sir, we think we have done all that can be expected from us in this business. Since your majesty has declared you are well satisfied in our innocency, we regard not the censures of others.”

Here the Bishops of Peterborough and Rochester, having been absent from the former meeting, made their personal protestations, (as the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London had done before,) that they had, neither by word or writing, directly or indirectly, invited the Prince of Orange to invade his majesty's dominions, nor did they know of any that had.

* This bishop was known as a person devoted to the measures of the court. The following anecdote is related of insults offered to him by a mob, at the time of the Revolution. Among the partial disturbances which took place, the mob at Cambridge, hearing that he was at

Balsham in that county on a visit, went to find him; and mounting him on a paltry horse, without bridle or saddle, brought him in triumph to Cambridge, and were not satisfied till they had made the magistrates put him in the castle as a prisoner.—See *London Mercury*, December 23, 1688.

The King.—My lords, I am abundantly satisfied with you all, as to that matter. I had not the least suspicion of you. But where is the paper I desired you to draw up and bring me?

The Bishops.—Sir, we have brought no paper. Nor (with submission) do we think it necessary or proper for us to do it. Since your majesty is pleased to say that you think us guiltless, we despise what all the world besides shall say. Let others distrust us as they will, we regard it not: we rely on the testimony of our consciences, and your majesty's favourable opinion.

The King.—But I expected a paper from you. I take it, you promised me one. I look upon it to be absolutely necessary for my service: and seeing you are mentioned in the Prince of Orange's Declaration, you should satisfy others as well as me.

Here the king, taking notice that the Bishops of Peterborough and Rochester had been absent the time before, took out the Declaration, and read to them what concerned the birth of the Prince of Wales, and the Prince of Orange's resolution to come to England for the preservation of its religion and laws, being invited by a great many of the spiritual and temporal lords.

The Bishops.—Sir, we cannot think ourselves bound to declare publicly, under our hands, against a paper come forth in such a private manner, which, as yet, nobody owns; and which, as they say, seems rather to be written like a lawyer's brief, than a princely declaration. We assure your majesty, scarce one in five hundred believes it to be the prince's true declaration.

"No!" said the king, with some vehemence, "then that five hundred would cut my throat," (or bring in the Prince of Orange upon my throat.)

The Bishops.—God forbid!

The King.—"What, must not I be believed? must my credit be called in question?" As he turned the Declaration over in his hands, one of the bishops asked whether the Prince of Orange's arms were to it? He said, there were all the signs of a true Declaration.

The Bishops.—Sir, your majesty's credit is not here concerned. It is sufficient for that, that your officers seized on it.

The Archbishop.—Sir, it is a good reason to us to suspect it is not his, that this very clause is in it, of his being invited by a

great many spiritual and temporal lords. For either this is true or false. If true, one would think it were very unwisely done of the Prince of Orange, to discover it so soon. If it be false, one would not imagine a great prince would publish a manifest untruth, and make it the grounds of his enterprise.

The King.—What! he that can do as he does, think you that he will stick at a lie? You all know how usual it is for men, in such cases, to affirm any kind of falsehoods, for the advantage of their cause.

The Bishops.—However, sir, this is a business of state, which properly belongs not to us. To declare peace and war is not our duty, but in your majesty's power only. God has intrusted the sword with you.

The Archbishop.—Truly, sir, we have lately some of us here, and others my brethren who are absent, so severely smarted for meddling with matters of state and government, that it may well make us exceeding cautious how we do so any more. For, though we presented your majesty with a petition of the most innocent nature, and in the most humble manner imaginable, yet we were so violently prosecuted, as it would have ended in our ruin if God's goodness had not preserved us; and I assure your majesty, the whole accusation turned upon this one point. Your attorney and solicitor both affirmed, that the honestest paper relating to matters of civil government might be a seditious libel, when presented by persons who had nothing to do with such matters, as they said we had not, but in time of parliament. And indeed, sir, they pursued us so fiercely upon this occasion, that, for my part, I gave myself for lost.

The King.—I thank you for that, my lord of Canterbury: I could not have thought you would believe yourselves lost by falling into my hands.

The Bishops.—Sir, my lord of Canterbury's meaning is, he looked on himself as lost in the course of law; lost in *Westminster Hall*.

The Archbishop.—But, sir, the injustice of the prosecution against us did not cease there. After we had been acquitted by our jury, and our acquitment was recorded; and so we were right in the eye of the law: yet after that, we were afresh

arraigned, and condemned by divers of your judges, as seditious libellers, in their circuits all over England. And, sir, I beg leave to say, that if the law were open, (that is, as he afterwards explained himself, if the same persons were not to be judges and parties,) had the meanest subject your majesty has, been used as we have been, he would have found abundant reparation in your courts of justice for so great a scandal. I will particularly acquaint your majesty with what one of your judges, Baron H., said, coming from the bench, where he had declared our petition to be a factious libel. A gentleman of quality asking him, how he could have the conscience to say so, when the bishops had been legally discharged of it? he answered, you need not trouble yourself with what I said on the bench: I have instructions for what I said, and I had lost my place, if I had not said it. Sir, added the archbishop, I hope this is not true. But it is true that he said it. There was another of your judges, sir, Baron R., who attacked us in another manner, and endeavoured to expose us as ridiculous; alleging, that we did not write true English, and it was fit we should be convicted by Dr. Busby for false grammar.

The Bishops.—Sir, that was not all. The same judge, as we are certainly informed, presumed to revile the whole Church of England in the most scandalous language, affirming, that this Church, which your majesty has so often honoured, by promising to cherish and protect it, is a cruel and bloody Church.

The king, now addressing the archbishop, said, my lord, this is querelle d'Allemand: all this is a matter quite out of the way. I thought this had been all forgotten. For my part, I am no lawyer: I am obliged to think what my judges do is according to law. But, if you will still complain on that account, I think I have reason to complain too. I am sure your counsel did not use me civilly. I know what is commonly said, that it is customary for the counsel to speak what they can for their clients. But they went further, and interposed in matters they had nothing to do with. As for what you say, that it is hazardous to meddle in matters of state, that is true, when I do not call you to it. But I may ask counsel or assistance of any, as I now do of you, and then there can be no danger.

Here, the king still earnestly urging that they should present him with something under their hands, which he had before sometimes called a dislike, sometimes an abhorrence, sometimes a detestation of the Prince of Orange's proceedings; and insisting much on a promise of this nature made by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, when the other two were absent; they with all duty and submission persisted, that they never promised a paper, but only engaged that they would deliberate with those of their brethren then near town, in whom they could confide, about framing a paper; and that, if they should agree upon one, they would bring or send it to his majesty. On this, the king turned to Lord Preston, for whom he had sent some time before, and asked him, whether the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London had not promised a paper, although they now denied it. Lord Preston answered, in substance, that the two prelates had promised that, if they should consent or agree upon a paper, they would present it to his majesty before it was published. To which these prelates added, "We then said, we were very few of the bishops' bench in town, with whom we could advise, and begged that, in so weighty a business, his majesty would be pleased to summon up the rest."

The king answered, that he had told the Archbishop of Canterbury before, that it would be too far, and too late, to send to Carlisle, or Exeter, or other remote parts; but, if they who were present would sign the paper, he would afterwards send to those who were further off for their concurrence.

The bishops hereupon most humbly entreated, that the small number there present might not be separated from the rest, as if they were more suspected than others: they further said, that the lords temporal were equally concerned in the accusation, and prayed that they might be called together, and joined with them in consulting about this protestation which was now required of them alone.

The king hastily answered, "Aye, I believe, some of the temporal lords have been already with you, and caused you to change your minds."

The bishops all solemnly declared the contrary; and the king put this off by saying that he knew some, as Lord Preston, had been with them.

The bishops then stated, that they understood several of the temporal lords had had interviews with his majesty upon this very occasion; and they humbly asked, whether he had demanded any such thing of them, as he was now pleased to do from the bishops.

His majesty said, no, he had not. But it would be of more concernment to his service that they (the bishops) should do it, because they had greater interest with the people.

The bishops replied, that, in matters of this nature, belonging to civil government and the affairs of war and peace, it was most probable the nobility would have far greater influence on the nation than themselves; as they had greater interests at stake, and the management of such matters belonged more properly to them.

The King.—But this is the method I have proposed. I am your king. I am judge what is best for me. I will go my own way; I desire your assistance in it.

The Bishops.—Sir, we have already made our personal vindication here in your majesty's presence: your majesty has condescended to say, you believe and are satisfied with it. Now, sir, it is in your power to publish what we have here said, to all the world, in your royal Declaration, which we hear is coming forth.

The King.—No; if I should publish it, the people would not believe me.

The Bishops.—Sir, the word of a king is sacred; it ought to be believed on its own authority. It would be presumption in us to pretend to strengthen it: and the people cannot but believe your majesty in this matter.

The King.—They that could believe me guilty of a false son, what will they not believe of me!

The Bishops.—But, sir, all the court sees us going in and out: and all the town will know the effect of what has been done and said: and we shall own it everywhere.

The King.—And all the town will know what I have desired of you: so that it will be a great prejudice to my affairs, if you deny me.

The bishops still earnestly besought his majesty, that they

might not be divided from the temporal peers ; that he would at least appoint a select number of them to consult together with them. The king still refusing to hear of that, and urging their immediate compliance, they told him, that the chief place in which they could serve his majesty effectually was a Parliament : and, when he should please to call one to compose all the distractions of his kingdoms, he should there find, that, as they had always shown their personal affections to his majesty, so the true interest of the Church of England is inseparable from the true interests of the crown.

The King.—My lords, that is a business of more time. What I ask now, I think of present concernment to my affairs. But this is the last time ; I will urge you no further. If you will not assist me as I desire, I must stand upon my own legs, and trust to myself and my own arms.

The bishops, in conclusion, stated that, as bishops they did assist his majesty with their prayers ; as peers, they entreated that they might serve in conjunction with the rest of the peers, either by his majesty's speedily calling a Parliament, or, if that should be thought too distant, by assembling together with them as many of the temporal peers, as were in London or its vicinity.

This suggestion was not attended to, and so the prelates were dismissed.

Thus ended this celebrated conference between King James and the bishops : great crowds of people were present at and about the court, waiting to hear the result ; both the friends and the enemies of the Church of England being impatient to learn how they would conduct themselves in that difficult juncture. Bishop Sprat says*, that the jesuited party at court were so enraged against the bishops for their perseverance in refusing to give the king a paper such as he required, that, as was stated on credible authority, one of the principal of them in a heat advised that they should all be imprisoned, and the truth extorted from them by force.

There cannot be the slightest doubt that Archbishop Sancroft was perfectly sincere in the protestations he made to the king at

* See SPRAT'S *Letters to the Earl of Dorset*.

the preceding interviews, of his not having been concerned in inviting the Prince of Orange to England*. There is every reason to suppose that, whatever may have been his opinion of the absolute necessity of the prince's intervention, in order to detach James from the evil counsellors by whom he was surrounded, and to place on a firm footing the civil and religious liberties of the country, yet he had not in any manner, direct or indirect, concurred in such invitation; nor even is there any ground for supposing that he suspected any of his brethren on the bench to have had more concern in such a measure than himself. Of the other prelates who were present at the interviews, the Bishops of Rochester and Peterborough appear also to have been perfectly sincere. With the Bishop of London, however, the case was different. It has appeared from documents which have since been published†, that, at this very time, he had joined with

* The following letter from Dr. Stanley, who was formerly chaplain to the Princess of Orange, to Dr. Hickey, written in 1715, strongly corroborates the fact, if it can be thought to stand in need of corroboration, that Archbishop Sancroft never concurred in any invitation to the Prince of Orange.—See GUTCH'S *Miscellan. Curiosa*, Pref. p. 64.

"Sir,

"May 26.

"I do not remember that I ever heard that the late good Archbishop Sancroft was thought to have invited the Prince of Orange over into England. If any one did charge him with it, I believe it was without grounds. All that I can say as to the matter is, that, Ann. 1687, when I came into England from Holland, I confess I did desire the archbishop to write to the then Princess of Orange, on whom I had the honour to attend, to encourage her still to give countenance to the Church of England: but he was pleased not to write to her. And, afterwards, when we were come over into England, and a report being spread abroad, that some of the lords,

spiritual as well as temporal, had invited the Prince of Orange into England, in my discoursing with the archbishop, I remember he said to me—I am now glad I did not write to the princess as you desired; for, if I had written to her, they would have said that I had sent to invite them over.—This is true, and this is all that I can say of that affair.

"I am, Sir,

"Your faithful friend, &c.

"WILLIAM STANLEY."

† See DALRYMPLE'S *Memoirs*, Append. vol. ii. pp. 224, 228, and MACPHERSON'S *State Papers*, v. i. p. 276. It is there clearly proved, from original documents, that the Bishop of London was one of those who associated to invite the Prince of Orange. In particular there is one paper, signed, in cypher, by him and six others, dated June 30th, 1688, in which they press the prince without delay to undertake the expedition, and add, "we who subscribe this will not fail to attend your highness on your landing, and to do all that lies in our power to prepare others." While we cannot but admire

several others in sending to the Prince of Orange a direct invitation, in which a positive pledge was given, that they would render him, as soon as he should land, all the assistance in their power. It is painful, therefore, to state that this bishop can by no means be absolved from the charge of duplicity, in having so strongly and positively denied the fact to the king.

It is sufficiently clear that the great object of King James, in the preceding interviews with the bishops, was to draw them into a public expression of their opinion, adverse to the Prince of Orange's designs; and thereby to avail himself of their influence and credit with the nation, at that critical period, in opposing the projected attempt. It has appeared, that in what he required of them, he mixed two matters which were quite distinct from each other; the denial of their having had any concern in inviting the prince, and their abhorrence in general of the invasion projected by him*.

the high and honourable feeling which distinguished many parts of Bishop Compton's conduct, antecedent to, and during, the Revolution, we must regret, that his merits should be tarnished by an act of insincerity towards the king, as unprofitable as it was inexcusable.

* There is reason to believe that, had the king found the bishops disposed to yield to his solicitations, he would have pressed them, not only to express their own dislike of the Prince of Orange's expedition, but also to recommend to the clergy to be earnest in exhorting their flocks against it.—The following is a form of declaration, given in one of the pamphlets of that period, which, it is stated, the king wished to procure some of the bishops to sign, immediately after the landing of the prince. It is found in a scarce pamphlet, entitled *Reflections on a Form of Prayer lately set forth by the Jacobites of the Church of England, and of an Abhorrence tendered by the late King to some of our Dissenting Bishops upon his present Majesty*. London, 1690.—See p. 26.

"Whereas the Prince of Orange hath, with an armed force of foreigners and strangers, in a hostile manner, actually invaded this kingdom; and, to amuse and deceive the subjects, has set forth his declaration; and therein hath asserted that he hath been earnestly solicited and invited by a great many of the lords spiritual of this kingdom: We, the archbishop and bishops, whose names are hereunto subscribed, as an indispensable duty incumbent upon us, do for ourselves severally and respectively declare, that we never did, either by word or writing, give him the least, or any encouragement or solicitation thereto: and do, on behalf of ourselves, according to the avowed and untainted principles of the Church of England, with the consent of the King's most excellent majesty, hereby publish and declare to all our fellow subjects, our abhorrence and detestation of the said invasion, or of any rebellion or other disturbance of the government, under what pretence and upon what ground soever: and do hereby direct and admonish all our

As far as the Archbishop of Canterbury was concerned, there seems reason to suppose that he would not have been unwilling to give the king a written declaration of that which he had with full sincerity declared to him in private, as to his not having himself invited the prince, and not knowing or believing that any of his brethren had done so. There is, in fact, found among his papers, the following sketch of a declaration to this effect, regularly dated, with his initials subjoined; evidently drawn up with the design of being presented to the king*.

"Whereas there hath been of late a general apprehension, that his highness the Prince of Orange hath an intention to invade this kingdom, in hostile manner; and, as it is said, makes this one reason of his attempt, that he hath been thereunto invited by several English lords, both spiritual and temporal; I, William, archbishop of Canterbury, do, for my own discharge, profess and declare, that I never gave him any such invitation, by word, writing, or otherwise. Nor do I know, nor can believe, that any of my reverend brethren the bishops have, in any such way, invited him. And all this I aver upon my word; and, in attestation thereof, have subscribed my name here, at Lambeth, the 3rd day of November, 1688.

"W. C."

This paper, it is observable, bears date three days before the final interview of the bishops with the king. It certainly never was presented. The archbishop was probably diverted, on further reflection, from doing what he at first intended, by considering that a simple declaration of this kind would probably not

clergy, within our several and respective dioceses (and doubt not but our several brethren the bishops who are not present at the signing hereof, respectively will speedily do the like for themselves, and within their several and respective dioceses,) to excite and stir up their several auditors, and all persons within their respective cures, to stand firm and steadfast in their duty and obedience to the king's majesty, in the opposition there-

of, as being a duty incumbent upon them by the laws of God and man, and from which they may expect the blessing of God in such their undertaking. To which and for which they shall not want our fervent prayers to God on their behalfs.

"Given under our hands this
day of Ann. Dom. 1688."

* See MACPHERSON'S *Original State Papers*, v. i. 279, from Tanner's Collection, v. 28.

satisfy the king; and also, by reflecting on that which was urged by him in the interview, that, as the temporal lords were as much concerned as the spiritual, there was as much reason for his calling upon them to make the declaration, as the spiritual; and the fact of his endeavouring to detach the latter from the former, and make them stand alone in a declaration of this kind to be laid before the public, naturally suggested the suspicion that some peculiar advantage was intended in the use of their names; and made them, in consequence, the more cautious in affording them.

Of the prelates who bore a part in this conference, two, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Kenn, bishop of Bath and Wells, afterwards refused to take the oaths to King William; and their conduct has, in consequence, been taxed with inconsistency. It has been asked why, if they were in reality averse to the Prince of Orange's designs, they refused to signify that aversion, by a public declaration, at the earnest desire of their lawful sovereign; and why, if they approved the expedition, they afterwards refused to concur in those measures which resulted from it. The fact seems to be, that, although these prelates had not been in any degree concerned in inviting the Prince of Orange to undertake the expedition, and although they were not prepared to approve every result to which the expedition might lead, still they concurred with the rest of their brethren, and with reflecting persons throughout all ranks of the nation, in the firm opinion that his presence was absolutely necessary to rescue the king from the evil counsellors that surrounded him; to turn him from his design of subverting the Church, and violating the constitution; and to force him to the adoption of measures more consistent with the feelings and wishes of his people. Their very attachment to James, as their sovereign, no less than their regard for the welfare of the nation in Church and State, led them, under the existing circumstances, not to disapprove an expedition which appeared to be the only effectual measure for producing those results which they so ardently desired. Thus, whatever may be thought of their conduct during the whole of these important transactions, it does not appear that, on this point, the charge of inconsistency can be justly alleged against them. It was only when the measure to which they were favourable at first, led to

results which they had never contemplated, and were not prepared to approve, that they withdrew their concurrence, and shrunk from all further participation in it.

But the firmness of the archbishop and the other bishops in steadily resisting, on this occasion, the pressing solicitations of James, had, it is probable, a very important effect on the issue of the great struggle in which the nation was now engaged. These prelates were then deservedly standing on the highest ground of popularity, as the great supporters of the Protestant cause, and the champions of the public liberties. If they, therefore, had publicly expressed their disapprobation of the prince's expedition, their opinion would have had a powerful effect on the public feeling at this critical juncture: many of those who were favourers of the expedition, would have begun to doubt their own judgment, when opposed to such high authority, and would either have shrunk entirely from the support of the cause, or would have supported it with less zeal and activity. Thus the least consequence would have been, that the parties would have been more equally balanced, and that the Revolution would not have been effected with that full concurrence of the nation, which eventually took place.

In addition to this, it has been surmised that, had the bishops, as a body, publicly expressed their abhorrence of the prince's design, they would have been so decidedly committed in opposition to the principles on which the Revolution was effected, that they could not have borne a part in the subsequent establishment of the government, and that even the downfall of episcopacy might have been the consequence. Bishop Sprat* is strongly of opinion that the contrary conduct of the Scotch bishops† at this

* See BISHOP SPREAT'S *Letters to the Earl of Dorset*.

† A letter to King James from the Scotch bishops appears in the *London Gazette*, dated Edinburgh, Nov. 3rd, 1688. After expressing gratitude to him for favours, and congratulating him on the birth of a prince, it proceeds—"We are amazed to hear of the danger of an invasion from Holland, which

excites our prayers for an universal repentance to all orders of men, that God may yet spare his people, preserve your royal person, and prevent the effusion of Christian blood, and give success to your majesty's arms; that all who invade your majesty's just and undoubted rights, and disturb or interrupt the peace of your realms, may be disappointed and clothed with shame,

juncture was the main and principal cause of the abolition of episcopacy in that kingdom. The Scotch bishops were drawn into a declaration, expressing their abhorrence of the Prince of Orange's design: they were, in consequence prevented, from a regard to their own consistency, from acting in Parliament immediately after the Revolution; and their absence from Parliament left the field entirely open to the Presbyterian party, who made good use of the opportunity, and procured their establishment by law. "Thus," says Bishop Sprat*, "as the refusal of the English bishops to stand by the doctrines of passive obedience saved episcopacy in England, so the adherence of the Scotch bishops to those doctrines destroyed it in Scotland."

Bishop Burnet agrees in the fact, that the circumstance of the bishops, and those who adhered to them, not appearing in the Convention in Scotland, left the field open to the Presbyterian party, and thus paved the way for the abolition of episcopacy. He relates, however, that the episcopal party in Scotland sent the Dean of Glasgow, in their names, to wait on the Prince of Orange, as soon as he came to St. James's: and that the prince expressed favourable intentions towards them: but afterwards, on their expecting another revolution, they resolved to adhere firmly to King James's interest, and declared in a body against the new settlement. This it was, according to him, which made it impossible for the king to preserve the episcopal government there, "all who expressed their zeal for him being equally zealous against that order†."

Sir James Mackintosh states, that in the awful struggle in which the English nation and Church were about to engage, they had to number the Established Church of Scotland among their enemies‡.

so that on your royal head the crown may still flourish."

It is signed by the Archbishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow, and ten bishops.

* See *Letters to the Earl of Dorset*.

† See BURNET'S *Own Times*, ii. 23.

‡ See MACKINTOSH'S *History of the Revolution*, p. 292.

CHAPTER IX.

PERIOD OF THE REVOLUTION.

Address of the Peers to King James—His Answer—His ill-advised and vacillating Measures—His Flight—Meeting of the Peers at Guildhall—their Declaration to the Prince of Orange—Remarks upon it—Archbishop Sancroft vindicated from the Charge of Inconsistency—His Election to the Chancellorship of Cambridge—Refusal of it—Letters on the Subject.

At the time when the last of these interviews between the king and the bishops took place, the Prince of Orange, with his army, was actually on British ground. The greatest alarm was now excited in the public mind that the kingdom was about to be delivered up to all the horrors and disorders of a civil war; and even those who had felt, in the strongest manner, the necessity of resorting to foreign interference, were struck with anxiety for the result, when they saw army arrayed against army, and the standard of an invader erected in the heart of the kingdom.

In this fearful emergency, the views of some of the leading persons in London, and, amongst them, of the Archbishop of Canterbury, were early directed towards the means of preventing the mischief and confusion which appeared to threaten; and the plan which they agreed upon was that of presenting an address to King James, earnestly requesting him to call, without delay, a free parliament, as the measure which would be most effectual for putting an end to the existing grievances, and for preventing the effusion of blood. The plan seems to have originated in conversation between some of the bishops and the Earl of Clarendon, on November 8th*; which must have been immediately subsequent to the receipt of the intelligence, that the Prince of Orange had landed. They agreed to mention it the next day to the Archbishop of Canterbury. The archbishop highly approved it. Some meetings accordingly took place at Lambeth Palace, at which the Earl of Clarendon was present, together with several of the bishops, for the purpose of discussing the terms of the address. At last, at a final meeting held there on the 15th, those terms were agreed upon; and the bishops resolved to meet some

* See the *Diary of Henry Earl of Clarendon*.

temporal peers at the Bishop of Rochester's that evening, to show them the paper and to procure their signatures.

On the morning of November 17th, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Archbishop of York elect, the Bishops of Ely and Rochester, waited on the king and presented the address to him as follows*.

"May it please your Majesty,

"We, your majesty's most loyal subjects, in a deep sense of the miseries of a war now breaking forth in the bowels of this your kingdom, and of the danger to which your majesty's sacred person is thereby like to be exposed, as also of the distractions of your people by reason of their present grievances, do think ourselves bound in conscience of the duty we owe to God and to our holy religion, to your majesty, and to our country, most humbly to offer to your majesty, that, in our opinion, the only visible way to preserve your majesty, and this your kingdom, would be the calling a parliament regular and free in all its circumstances.

"We, therefore, most earnestly beseech your majesty, that you would be graciously pleased, with all speed, to call such a parliament, wherein we shall be most ready to promote such counsels and resolutions of peace and settlement in Church and State, as may conduce to your majesty's honour and safety, and to the quieting the minds of your people.

"We do likewise humbly beseech your majesty, in the mean time, to use such means for the preventing the effusion of Christian blood, as to your majesty shall seem most meet.

"W. CANT.	NOM. EBOR.
"GRAFTON.	W. ASAPH.
"ORMOND.	F. ELY.
"DORSET.	THO. ROFFEN.
"CLARE.	THO. PETRIBURG.
"CLARENDON.	T. OXON.
"BURLINGTON.	PAGET.
"ANGLESEA.	CHANDOS.
"ROCHESTER.	OSSULSTON."
"NEWPORT.	

* See *History of the Desertion of the Throne by James II.*, p. 62; in *State Tracts*, vol. i., written by EDWARD BOHUN, Esq.

The king gave the following answer* to the address of the peers, from which it is justly inferred, that he was by no means pleased with it.

“ My Lords,

“ What you ask of me, I most passionately desire, and I promise you, upon the faith of a king, that I will have a parliament, and such an one as you ask for, as soon as ever the Prince of Orange has quitted this realm. For how is it possible a parliament should be free in all its circumstances, as you petition for, whilst an enemy is in the kingdom, and can make a return of near an hundred voices ?”

This answer of the king to the peers was equivalent to a direct refusal, and was liable to the worst interpretation. Such was, at this time, the want of confidence on the part of the public in his honour and good faith, that they believed his disposition to perform his promises would last no longer than the necessity which had urged him to make them. To say that he would call a parliament as soon as the Prince of Orange should have left the kingdom with his army, was interpreted to mean, and possibly was intended by those who advised him to mean, that he wished, at all events, to get rid of the foreign force which threatened to oblige him to compliance, and then designed to revert to his old measures. Even at this time, when the prince was occupying with his army a part of the kingdom, it is probable that, had the king determined, at once, and without hesitation, on the advice of his peers, to issue writs for summoning a parliament, and openly promised to refer to it all matters of difference between himself and his people, the final issue of these events to his fortunes might have been very different. The time which he lost before he came to this measure was not to be recovered. But he seems at this time to have been little aware how entirely he had forfeited the good opinion and the affections of his people, and to have fully expected that he should meet with sufficient support to enable him to repel the invader of his kingdom.

On the evening of the day on which he gave this answer to

* See *History of the Desertion*.—Ibid.

the peers, he set out from London to take the command of his army. He got as far as Salisbury, found that the prince was hourly becoming stronger by the accession of persons of all ranks, that his own friends and supporters were dropping off from him one by one, and that he could place no dependance on the army which still nominally adhered to him. Consequently, after staying at Salisbury a few days, he left it with precipitation, and returned to London on the 26th of November.

On the day after his arrival, he summoned all the peers, spiritual and temporal, who were in or near London, to attend him in the afternoon*. About forty of them came; it is not distinctly stated that the Archbishop of Canterbury was amongst the number, but there seems to be little doubt that he was. The king, addressing the meeting, told them that he had called them together to consider of the matter of the petition which some of them had delivered to him the day he set out on his journey; that, being then on the point of departing, he could not give an immediate answer to it; that he had observed in his journey the general desire of the counties through which he passed, for a parliament; that, in consequence of this, he had now summoned the peers for the purpose of advising with them as to what was best to be done in the existing emergency. Some of the peers gave their opinions very freely respecting the measures which had brought affairs to the present crisis; and the sum of the advice given was, that he should summon a parliament immediately; that he should send commissioners to negotiate a treaty with the Prince of Orange, by which the meeting of a parliament might be facilitated; that a pardon should be issued for all who had joined the prince, and that all Roman Catholics should be dismissed from the court. It is stated that none of the spiritual peers bore any part in this discussion. In conclusion, after a serious and warm debate, the king spoke to this effect:—"My lords, I have heard you all; you have spoken with great freedom, and I do not take it ill of any of you. I may tell you, I will call a parliament; but, for the other matters you have proposed, they are of great importance, and you will not wonder that I take

* See KENNETT's *History*, iii. 499, and CLARENDON's *Diary*, November 27th, 1688.

one night to consider of them." As to the part of their advice which related to the Roman Catholics, he said he was unwilling to grant it, and would leave this matter to be debated in parliament.

In consequence, on the next day, November 28th, he gave orders to the Chancellor to issue writs for summoning a parliament on the 15th of January following, and he signified this determination to the public, by a proclamation, on the 30th*. It is very striking and very instructive to observe how this misguided monarch, by his course of ill-timed and vacillating measures, contrived that his concessions should always lose their effect with the public, by being made with a bad grace, and carrying too evident an appearance of being extorted from him. Only eleven days before, he had positively refused to call a parliament while the Prince of Orange, with his army, was on British ground. Now he consented to do so, but at a time when this consent was wholly unavailing to the support of his cause; his feebleness having been betrayed, his authority having wholly sunk into contempt; and his opponent, being surrounded by many of the leading persons in the kingdom, in a state to dictate to him as he pleased. It is very remarkable too, that there is considerable reason to doubt whether, even at this period, he was sincere in the intention of summoning a parliament†. For, so late as December 10th, the day when he left London with the intention of quitting the country, he ordered those writs which had not been issued to be burnt, and a caveat to be entered against making use of those which had been issued. The fact of the writs having not been all issued at an interval of so many days from the time when they were ordered, has been deemed a proof that he was not in earnest in the intention of calling a parliament‡.

When James on the 10th of December left London, for the purpose of making his way to France, those who had most

* *History of the Desertion*, p. 82.

† *Ib.*, p. 87.

‡ It ought, however, to be observed, that it is not stated what proportion of the writs remained without being issued on the 10th of December; and

that, possibly, they were only or chiefly those belonging to the western counties, occupied by the Prince of Orange and his adherents, to which they could not conveniently be sent.

firmly adhered to him immediately turned their views to the Prince of Orange, as to the only person whose protecting authority could be called in to secure the public peace. The day following, December 11th, the spiritual and temporal peers who were at that time in London and its vicinity, assembled at Guildhall, as hereditary counsellors and guardians of the kingdom, whose office it was, during the vacancy of the throne, to provide for the public safety, and to take measures for the prevention of general disorder. The Archbishop of Canterbury acted at this meeting in concurrence with the other peers. It is stated* that some warm debates took place on the occasion; but at last they came to the resolution, that application should be made to the Prince of Orange, by way of declaration, to call a free parliament. The declaration was drawn up in the following terms†.

“We doubt not but the world believes that, in this great and dangerous conjuncture, we are heartily and zealously concerned for the Protestant religion, the laws of the land, and the liberties and properties of the subject. And we did reasonably hope, that, the king having issued his proclamation and writs for a free parliament, we might have rested secure under the expectation of that meeting. But, his majesty having withdrawn himself, and, as we apprehend, in order to his departure out of this kingdom, by the pernicious counsels of persons ill-affected to our nation and religion, we cannot, without being wanting to our duty, be silent under these calamities, wherein the popish counsels, which so long prevailed, have miserably involved these realms: we do, therefore, unanimously resolve, to apply ourselves to his Highness the Prince of Orange, who, with so great a kindness to these kingdoms, so vast expense, and so much hazard to his own person, hath undertaken, by endeavouring to procure a free parliament, to rescue us, with as little effusion as possible of Christian blood, from the imminent dangers of popery and slavery.

“And we do hereby declare, that we will, with our utmost endeavours, assist his highness in the obtaining such a parliament with all speed, wherein our laws, our liberties, and properties

* See *Life of Kettlewell*, p. 187. |

† KENNETT'S *History*, v. iii. 501.

8vo. edit.

may be secured; the Church of England in particular, with a due liberty to Protestant dissenters, and, in general, the Protestant religion and interest over the whole world, may be supported and encouraged, to the glory of God, the happiness of the established government in these kingdoms, and the advantage of all princes and states in Christendom, that may be herein concerned.

“ In the meanwhile, we will endeavour to preserve, as much as in us lies, the peace and security of these great and populous cities of London and Westminster, and the parts adjacent, by taking care to disarm all Papists, and secure all Jesuits and Romish priests who are in and about the same.

“ And if there be anything more to be performed by us, for promoting his highness’s generous intentions for the public good, we shall be ready to do it as occasion shall require.”

This Declaration was signed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the elect Archbishop of York, and twenty-seven other spiritual and temporal peers.

In pursuance of the avowed purpose of this meeting, the preservation of the public peace during the absence of the king*, the lords sent for the lieutenant of the Tower of London, who had lately been placed there by King James, and demanded from him the keys. The officer consented to give them without hesitation, and they intrusted the care of them to Lord Lucas, a nobleman of known honour and integrity.

It should be well observed, that in the preceding Declaration, the peers say nothing about giving the Prince of Orange any authority in the state, either permanently or provisionally; they do not even invite him to come to the metropolis, as was done on the same day in addresses both from the lieutenancy and from the corporation of London. They merely apply to him to rescue the nation from the dangers and disorders which threatened, with as little effusion of blood as possible, and bind themselves to assist him in obtaining a free parliament, by which the interests of the Church and State might be secured. It is stated†, that one of the noblemen who had been concerned in inviting the

* KENNETT’S *History*, v. iii., 501.

† *Life of Kettlewell*, p. 187.

Prince of Orange to England, proposed at the meeting, that the peers there assembled should form an association of adherence to his highness, but no one was found to second the motion.

The attendance at this meeting and the signing this address to the Prince of Orange, were the last public measures in which Archbishop Sancroft bore any part. It is mentioned*, that the experience of what he saw at this first meeting did not encourage him to attend a second. The meaning is, no doubt, that he perceived the bearing of opinions towards the total exclusion of James from the government; and, as he did not approve of this measure, he declined being present at any subsequent meetings. The peers again assembled†, three days after, December 14th; and, as another measure of precaution for the peace of the kingdom, issued an order requiring all officers and soldiers to repair to their respective regiments. Several bishops attended on this occasion; but the Archbishop of Canterbury was absent.

However, two days after, December 16th, his old master. King James, who it was thought had left the kingdom, returned from Feversham to Whitehall. He was well received by the populace in the streets, and as soon as he arrived, his court was thronged with nobility‡. Among others the Archbishop of Canterbury attended, with several bishops. It is stated that the king showed himself pleased with the address which the peers assembled at Guildhall had made to the prince, and expressed to one of the bishops how sensible he was that they had shown themselves zealously concerned for him on that occasion§.

From the share which Archbishop Sancroft took in this meeting at Guildhall, compared with his subsequent line of conduct, the strongest ground for the charge of inconsistency against him has been generally conceived to exist. But, perhaps, whatever may be thought of the whole of his conduct during these great transactions, it may not be a difficult matter in great measure to absolve him from this particular charge. It seems perfectly clear that he attended the meeting as a peer and counsellor of the realm, solely for the purpose of preserving the public

* *Life of Kettlewell*, p. 188.

† KENNETT, iii. 532.

‡ See the *London Mercury*, December 18th.

§ See *Life of Kettlewell*, p. 188.

peace during the absence of the king; not with the least design of declaring the throne vacant, or of transferring the sovereign authority, even for a time, to another. The terms of the Declaration, which he subscribed, clearly pledge him to nothing further. He there concurs in inviting the prince to call without delay a free parliament, which was the principal declared purpose of his coming to England, and to which he looked as a sufficient and sure instrument for settling the government and the Church on a firm footing of security. It is true that others, who on that occasion acted with the archbishop, saw, and, we may safely say, more correctly saw, that no calling of a parliament could permanently avail to any effectual purpose while a person of James's bigoted and headstrong disposition remained at the helm of government; and, feeling that his flight from the kingdom at that time was a virtual abdication of the throne, they were prepared to invest the Prince of Orange with sovereign authority. But, as Archbishop Sancroft attended the meeting with no such feeling and intention, and seems to have maintained to the last, the view on which he acted from the first, he deserves not to be charged with inconsistency.

While these important events were transacting in public, a singular and most gratifying proof of the high respect in which Archbishop Sancroft's character was held, was afforded by the University of Cambridge, in their unsolicited election of him to the distinguished office of Chancellor of that university; an office which they persevered in urging him to accept, in opposition to his declared and earnest wishes.

On the first rumour of the decease of the preceding Chancellor, the Duke of Albemarle, the views of some leading persons in the university seem to have been immediately directed towards the archbishop. Before the vacancy was even ascertained, Dr. Montagu, master of Trinity College, wrote to him to inquire whether, in the event of the choice of the senate falling upon him, he should be willing to accept the appointment. The archbishop sent the following reply*, in which, with many expressions of kindness and gratitude to those friends who were

* See Harl. MSS. v. 3783. 80.

disposed to confer this honour upon him, he signifies his positive determination to decline it.

TO DR. MONTAGUE, MASTER OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE,
FROM ARCHBISHOP SANCROFT.

Dated Lambeth H. Nov. 30th, 1688.

“Honourable and much honoured Sir,

“The news of your Chancellor’s death hath filled the town. But it comes from a place very remote; and how many persons have I known reported and believed to be dead, in London, who yet have outlived that report many years. So that, according to the common style of news, it wants a confirmation. For, should you go on to a choice, while the place is full, it would be a double affront, both to him that was, and to him that shall be chosen. Next for what concerns myself: though I am (as I ought) deeply sensible of the great honour which you (and if there be any others of your mind) have done me, in the esteem and good opinion you express of me, yet I should very unhandsomely comply with that obligation if I should at all hearken to what you propound. My great age, and many infirmities, and the little or no power which I have, or am ever like to have, where you are chiefly to be served and protected, move me, upon due deliberation, to affirm positively that I cannot, and (to put all out of doubt, and so to save further trouble on both sides,) to resolve peremptorily, that I will not, consent to that which, with so much kindness to me and so much disadvantage to yourselves, you design for me. Notwithstanding, whatever I am, or shall ever be, able to do for the service of that most illustrious body, as it is due from me upon a thousand titles, so, you may assure yourselves, shall be ever most readily and cheerfully paid you, to the utmost of my power. And, lastly, as to the supplying the vacancy, if really it shall prove to be so, I shall make no difficulty (having looked round about me,) to say, that I cannot see how it can be better filled, than if you shall think fit to choose the Earl of Clarendon, who, if I had any right in the election, should not want the clear and determinate suffrage of

“Your very affectionate, obliged, faithful Friend,

“W. CANT.”

Notwithstanding the fixed determination here expressed, the University, on proceeding to an election after the vacancy was declared, directed their choice to the archbishop, as the person most deserving of the high honour, and best qualified to maintain their interests and dignity. The following letters from Dr. Montagu, and from Dr. Covel, master of Christ's College, announced to him the unanimous decision of the senate. From the first of the letters, it seems clearly to be inferred that they had intended to accept his recommendation of the Earl of Clarendon, but were prevented from electing him by a letter from King James.

“ Trinity College, Dec. 15th, 1688.*

“ May it please your Grace,

“ We hope your Grace will pardon us, if, after your Grace's pleasure signified to the contrary, we nevertheless presume to confer the trouble of the chancellorship upon your Grace: such has been all along the inclination of the University to your Grace's person, and such the exigency of the present affairs, that we could not, without great reluctancy to our desires, nor without manifest prejudice to our interest, forbear at this time to offer some violence to your Grace's deliberate resolution; for, there coming a letter from above to intercept the choice of that noble lord†, your Grace had recommended, whom before we were all prepared to have chosen, both for your Grace's sake and his own, we feared lest, after the receipt of that letter, there might follow a division of the University into parties, and, therefore, rather than lose the design of being under your Grace's protection, since we could not in the way you had proposed, we were forced to be troublesome to your Grace in your own person, being very well assured that all the University would readily and cheerfully unite in your Grace's name; which accordingly was unanimously resolved upon this morning, in the Regent House; so that we doubt not your Grace will easily excuse the inopportunity of this election, since what was our earnest desire, became at last

* See Harl. MSS. 3783. 81.

† The Earl of Clarendon had gone over to the Prince of Orange in the beginning of this month; which sufficiently explains the cause of the king's writing to prevent his election.

our necessity too, Providence so ordering it, that we should be made happy by your Grace in this way, though against your Grace's intentions. My lord, I humbly beg your Grace's benediction, and remain

"Yonr Grace's most dutiful and obedient servant,

"JO. MONTAGU."

"*Chr. Coll. Camb. Dec. 15th, 1688*.*

"May it please your Grace,

"My lord, this morning your Grace was chosen Chancellor of our University, by the unanimous consent of the senate; which we hope you will interpret no otherwise than as our most humble duty and profound respect unto you. I must confess it ever was my opinion that we could be nowhere so happy as under your protection, and I must acknowledge it my greatest joy, that, by our joint consent, we have thus marked out the father of our Church for our most sincere patron. To-morrow, the whole senate will make their humble address to your Grace by our public letter; but I counted myself more particularly obliged (first begging your blessing,) by this more early notice to lay my own most affectionate services at your sacred feet.

"My Lord, your Grace's most obedient son,

"And faithful servant,

"JOH. COVELL.

The following is the public official letter of the University to the archbishop, announcing his election, which was approved and voted in the senate on the same day†.

"*E freq. Senatu, 16 Cal. Jan. 1688.*

"Quod te dudum annis gravem, et gloriâ, magnisque nunquam non rebus, nunc autem maximis, distentum, ad novas vocamus curas, id more hominum facimus, Reverendissime Præsul, apud quos obtinet (seu id vitium est seu natura nostra) ut sibi proximus quisque quæ ad se attinent anxie agat, nimis interim securus spectator alieni. Neque enim pensitamus quid canis vestris conveniat, quid præteritis laboribus, quid imminen-

* Harl. MSS. 3783. 82.

† Ibid. 3783. 83.

tibus, debeatur ; sed quid rebus nostris sit utile, quid nobis usui maximè futurum. Quocirca, simul atque nobis constitisset desiisse jam esse mortalem nuperum Heroem Albemarlensem, simul omnes te unicè intuemur, te unum poscimus Cancellarium. Sapimus itaque ut ut immodesti, nec in nobis prudentiam requirat quisquam, utcunque clamet inverecondiùs factum. Accipe autem, pientissime Antistes, æquique consulas munus illud, quod tibi quam demississimis offert precibus Alma Mater. Quæ te olim suum gloriata, jam se vicissim tuam vocari gestit. Est quidem illud eminentiâ vestrâ haud ita fortasse dignum, dignum tamen quod a nobis offeratur, cum non sit penes nos quidquam par aut simile : Quod si contractius apparet et imminutum, amplitudini detur vestræ, quæ tanta est ut vel maxima quæque minora videantur, si cum eâ juxta posita conferantur. At nos solatur eximius animi vestri candor, singularis illa et rara in tam sublimi loco moderatio ; solatur verè paterna pietas, quâ es in omnes filios vestros, quos non verbis magis quam factis ad verum numinis cultum instruis, iisque illustri documento ostendis, quam arcto nexu socientur fides Deo debita, quæque debetur principi fidelitas. Diu nobis præfuiisti exemplo ; superest dehinc imperio agas, et auctoritate, quam, tot virtutibus comparatam, tantis subnixam dotibus, stabilem vovemus, et diuturnam.

“ Paternitati vestræ devotissimi

“ Procancellarius reliquusque,

“ SENAT. ACAD. CANTABRIG.”

Dr. Covel, in transmitting to the archbishop this public letter, wrote privately to Dr. Paman, then resident in his household at Lambeth Palace, in the following terms, explaining the motives which had induced the senate to persevere in their choice, and expressing the hope that he might still be induced to accede to their wishes.

“ Sir,

December 17th, 1688.*

“ This person comes with our public letter to wait upon my Lord Archbishop, now our Chancellor-elect ; your last letter came too late, for we had chosen him the day before. But, good

* See Harl. MSS. 3783. 84.

doctor, be not troubled, for it was our own act and deed, *motu proprio*; what advices others had, or what particular design they might relate to, I know not; but my own proper motive was, our universal benefit; which, as I thought, we could nowhere so securely lodge, as where we have done it; these seemed to be the thoughts of the generality of men that I conversed with, and by the votes I guess it to have been the opinion of all the rest. However, if his Grace be displeased, we hope we shall by this means gain some more time to look about us better; we have fourteen days more after his refusal; I profess it would trouble me extremely if his Grace should be offended at what I am sure we intended as an expression of our unfeigned duty and respect, as much as consulting of our own interest. In this juncture of affairs, I fully persuade myself his Grace may be induced to patronize his University, so far at least as to let us have so much opportunity of settling our affairs with the greatest deliberation that he can afford us. With my hearty respects to you, I subscribe myself,

“Worthy Sir, your ever faithful servant,

“JOH. COVEL.”

“*To the worthy Dr. Henry Paman, at my Lord
Archbishop's Palace, at Lambeth.*”

Fixed as the archbishop was, from the first, in the determination not to accept the office of chancellor, it was very improbable that the course which events took subsequently to the first proposal of his election would bring him to a different decision: for he must very soon have perceived what the consequence of these events to himself was likely to prove. Still, the University seem to have awaited his final resolve with becoming deference, leaving the office at his disposal for a considerable time. By the following letter addressed to him from Dr. Covell, bearing date the 23rd of the following February, more than two months after the date of his election, it appears that no steps had been taken at that time towards proceeding to another election.

Feb. 23rd, 1688-9.*

“My Lord, may it please your Grace,

“I presumed some weeks since to give you the trouble of an humble address, for which I beg a thousand pardons, if, as I fear by your silence, it was unseasonable: yet I cannot but count it my duty now to acquaint you, as our chancellor, that we have thoughts of some verses to their majesties, and I am told by some from London that they may be expected. I humbly beg one word of advice next post or sooner; for, if the affair go on, it will be time we should begin forthwith. I humbly and heartily beg your blessing.

“My Lord, your Grace’s most obedient Son,

“And faithful Servant,

“JOH. COVEL.”

It will be remembered that “their majesties” spoken of in this letter were William and Mary, whom the archbishop, from conscientious motives, already refused to acknowledge.

At what precise period the University proceeded to another election, on Archbishop Sancroft’s declining the honour, cannot be ascertained; but as a letter of thanks* to the University from the Duke of Somerset, the nobleman elected in his room, bears date March 20th, 1688-9, it may be concluded that his election took place about the middle of that month.

* Harl. MSS. 3783. 85.

† In the Registrar’s Office at Cambridge.

CHAPTER X.

FROM THE ARRIVAL OF THE PRINCE OF ORANGE IN LONDON, TILL THE TIME OF ARCHBISHOP SANCROFT'S FINALLY RETIRING FROM THE SEE.

Refusal of the Archbishop to wait on the Prince of Orange, or take any part in the Public Measures—His views respecting the settling of the Government—Appointment of King William and Queen Mary to the Throne—Reflections on his taking no part in the great public Transactions—His refusal to take the new Oath—General regret at his Scruples—Attempts of his Friends in his favour—His Suspension and Deprivation—Appointment of a Successor—Retains Possession of Lambeth Palace till ejected by Law.

The day after the arrival of the Prince of Orange in London, all the prelates who were in or near the metropolis, with the exception of the Archbishop of Canterbury, waited on him to pay their respects. Bishop Burnet states* that the archbishop had once consented to wait on him; but this fact rests on his sole authority. When the House of Lords assembled, December 22nd, the archbishop was absent from his place there. His friends were extremely urgent in pressing his attendance; he showed great disinclination so to do; but at one time they thought they had prevailed. So important did some of them deem it to procure his attendance, that on perceiving his absence, they actually sent a message from the house to press him to come. His refusal was attributed at the time to the damp thrown upon his spirits by the king's departure†.

One of the first letters which King James wrote after his departure from the kingdom was addressed to Archbishop San-

* See BURNET'S *Own Times*, v. i. p. 302.

† See *Diary of the Earl of Clarendon*.—"Dec. 22nd. My brother and I dined at Lambeth, where we met the Bishops of Ely and Peterborough: our business was to persuade the archbishop to come to the House of Lords, to which he was extremely averse; but at last we prevailed with him,

and he promised us to be there on Monday.

"Dec. 24th. The House of Lords met. My Lord of Canterbury came not—the Bishop of Ely and I sent to him, but the king's being gone had cast such a damp upon him that he would not come, which many of us were sorry for. His declaring himself at this time would have had weight among us."

croft. In this he told him that the suddenness of his departure had been such, as to prevent his holding a conversation with him, as he had intended, in order to lay before him the motives of his conversion to the Roman Catholic religion ; that, although he had not thought proper to enter largely into this subject on a former occasion, when he (the archbishop) had attempted to bring him back to the Protestant Church, yet he never refused speaking freely with persons of the Protestant persuasion, and particularly with himself, whom he always considered to be his friend, and for whom he had a great esteem. He added, that he had remained for many years a zealous son of the Church of England, in whose doctrine he had been educated ; that he had not been persuaded to change his religion while he was young, and resident abroad, but that his conversion had taken place in his riper years, and on the full conviction of his mind as to the controverted points*. Probably, the expressions of kindness contained in this letter contributed to confirm the archbishop in the conscientious attachment to James which he ever afterwards displayed.

In the mean time, the archbishop's friends were urgent with him to wait upon the Prince of Orange, or to send a message to him by some of the bishops ; but this he positively refused. Lord Clarendon states, that he frequently pressed this point, without success. The same nobleman mentions, that, on the 3rd of January, he dined with the archbishop, in company with Dr. Tennison, and had some conversation with him on the subject of the approaching convention. He asked the archbishop, whether he should not think of preparing something by that time in behalf of the Dissenters. Dr. Tennison added, it would be expected by the public that something would be offered in pursuance of the petition which the bishops had presented to the king. The archbishop said, he was well aware of the contents of the petition ; and he believed every bishop in England intended to make it good, when an opportunity should be afforded of debating these matters in convocation ; but, till that should occur, or without a commission from the king, it was highly

* See *Stuart Papers*, v. i. 539, 540 ; taken from King James's Private Memoirs.

penal to enter into Church matters; however, he said he would bear the subject in mind, and should be willing to discourse respecting it with any of the bishops or clergy who might come to him, although he believed the Dissenters would never agree amongst themselves, as to the conditions that would satisfy them. To this Dr. Tennison replied, that he was quite of the same opinion, although he had not discoursed with any of them on the subject. He added, that the proper mode of proceeding was, not that the matter should be discussed beforehand with the Dissenters, but that the bishops should propose such concessions in Parliament as would be advantageous to the Church, whether accepted by the Dissenters or not. The archbishop answered, that, when a convocation should meet, these matters would be considered; in the meantime, he knew not what to say, but would think of what had now been proposed by them*.

During all this period, the archbishop, although he forbore to come forward in public, or to take any steps which would pledge him to an opinion on the important question of settling the Government, was very anxiously employed in private in discussing the subject, and thereby endeavouring to come to a right decision. Amongst his papers† which now remain, written with his own hand, are full and copious statements of the arguments adduced on all sides of the question; and from the pains and labour manifestly bestowed on collecting and putting these together, we have the most convincing proof that he formed his ultimate judgment on no light view of the subject, and not without a mature consideration of it in all its bearings.

One of the principal papers referred to, is entitled, "The present State of the English Government considered.—January, 1688‡." A few extracts from this will give an interesting view of the manner in which he discussed the subject, and of the views of it which principally struck him. It begins as follows.

* CLARENDON'S *Diary*, January 3rd, 1688-9.

† See Tanner's MSS., particularly vol. 459, which is almost entirely written with the archbishop's own hand, and contains copious discussions respecting the settlement of the Govern-

ment, the new oaths, the statute of præmunire, and other similar topics.

‡ See Tanner's MSS. 459. 1. The paper consists of twenty-five pages, written in the archbishop's very close hand-writing.

“The fact.—The king, by reason of some unhappy principles, opposite to the religion and interest of his people, acted contrary to those laws wherein the people esteemed their greatest security to be, and against reason of state, to that degree that most people wished for any means to be relieved, and many encouraged a foreign force to invade England. This succeeding, all the people deserted the king, some by joining with the foreign force, others by sitting still, and wishing well to the reformation intended: and the king, having no power to resist, leaves the kingdom without any provision for carrying on the Government in his absence. By these means, the Government is without a pilot. The captain of the foreign force, (in whom the visible power rests,) at the instance of the nobility, and some commoners, accepts the administration of the public affairs, both military and civil, until a convention of the estates of the kingdom meet, to consider and resolve how to settle the Government legally and securely.

“For this three ways are mentioned in discourse.

1. “To declare the commander of the foreign force king, and solemnly to crown him.

2. “To set up the next heir of the crown after the king's death, and crown her; who, being the wife of the said commander, he will hereby have an interest in the conduct of the government in her right.

3. “To declare the king, by reason of such his principles, and his resolutions to act accordingly, incapable of the government, with which such principles and resolutions are inconsistent and incompatible; and to declare the commander *Custos Regni*, who shall carry on the government in the king's right and name.

“I am clearly of opinion that the last way is the best, and that a settlement cannot be made so justifiable and lasting any other way.”

After stating some of the chief maxims of our law respecting the government,—as that the government of England is monarchical and hereditary, that the king never dies, that he can do no wrong, that he is not punishable in his own person, that no disability, as infancy, deliracy, can be alleged in his person; he proceeds to discuss the three proposed forms of settling the

government, first as to the right of fixing on each respectively, and then as to the advantage or disadvantage which attaches to each. On the right of appointing the chief commander king, he says,—

1st. “It has been affirmed by some that, by the king’s misgovernment, the government of England is dissolved. The very mention of this sufficiently exposeth it. For then there remains no law, no property; the rich are exposed to be plundered; all estates and honours are levelled, &c.

2nd. “If the commander had declared an absolute conquest of the kingdom, the question of right had been out of doors, for then he might have done what he had pleased, as well in ordering the method of government, as in disposing of all men’s estates, and all rights general and particular must have been derived from him. But, since it is referred to the convention to consider how to restore the ancient government, and to settle it legally, so that it may not be again legally subverted, the main question that remains is concerning the right, according to the laws of England.

3rdly. “Therefore, as the laws of England stand, nothing can colour the exclusion of the present king, and the setting up another, though we should suppose the whole people of England acting on it, unless we suppose also that they have an authority residing in them to judge, depose, and elect kings, *ad libitum*: but that is contrary to the known maxims of the law of England above recited.”

After proceeding to show, from the history of England, that the right of electing kings was never pretended but by prosperous usurpers, and that, even if this right were allowed, still the personal consent of every subject would be necessary, he concludes on this head, “That there is no manner of pretence for the succeeding convention to alter the government: and, if it be done at all, it must be by force of conquest.”

He then discusses the second expedient, of declaring the next heir regent in her own right, and this must be upon supposal of a right to the crown devolved upon her, like that of a natural death; and, to introduce that, the present title must be vacated and laid aside, either by deposal or by voluntary abdication.

After further arguing against the right to depose, he says, on the question of abdication, which was most to the present point,

"How far a prince may withdraw from his government I will not dispute by the rules of the civil law, or by the opinion of Grotius—but I do affirm that, by the common law of England, which is to judge between the king and his people in all cases that can happen; the king and people, that is, the mutual ties of protection and subjection, cannot be separated or dissolved by any human mean whatsoever, much less by the king's act alone."

After confirming this position, he concludes, p. 15,

"That which weighs down this matter is, that by the law of England the king cannot abdicate himself; for it is not only his right to be king, but it is the right of all the people of England, and of every individual person in it, that the government and justice of England should be in the king's name, whereby all pretences of usurpation and consequently tyranny, besides the wars and effusions of blood in the transactions, are obviated. Nothing that any private man can do will determine his being a subject to the king; and upon the same reason, nothing that the king can do can make him cease to be king. If once the style of the government be altered, how just a claim have any strong combinations to refuse obedience, or, if they can, even to assume the governing power. For they may say, *Jacobus Rex* I know, but who are you? If the right stands, agreed. *Jam sumus ergo pares*. But if a new power, why not we? All which cannot be answered but by force of arms; against which government is chiefly intended."

He then comes to consider the third plan of proceeding, "to declare the king *inhabilis quoad regimen Angliæ*, and to appoint a *custos*, who shall carry on the government in his name, and by his authority." "It has been observed," he says, "that the political capacity or authority of the king, and his name in the government, are perfect and cannot fail; but his person being human and mortal, and not otherwise privileged than the rest of mankind, is subject to all the defects and failings of it. He may, therefore, be incapable of directing the government, and dispensing the public treasure, &c. either by absence, by infancy, by

lunacy, deliracy, or apathy, whether by nature or casual infirmity, or, lastly, by some invincible prejudices of mind, contracted and fixed by education and habit, with unalterable resolutions superinduced, in matters wholly inconsistent and incompatible with the laws, religion, peace, and true policy of the kingdom. In all these cases (I say) there must be some one or more persons appointed to supply such defect, and vicariously to him, and by his power and authority, to direct public affairs. And this done, I say further, that all proceedings, authorities, commissions, grants, &c., issued as formerly, are legal and valid to all intents, and the people's allegiance is the same still, their oaths and obligations no way thwarted."

After considering the right of the proposed plans, he proceeds to the advantages or disadvantages resulting from them, and concludes with the following excellent passage, in which whatever may be thought of his application of the principle, he admirably lays down the principle itself, so valuable in the judgment of every sound statesman and moralist, that the practice of what is just and right will always prove the best policy in the main issue of events.

"Upon the whole, having compared the expedients of a king *de facto* and a *custos regni* in point of security, I think the latter of the two is the more firm and secure settlement. But then, adding that it is the only just one, too, what reason can be pretended against the using of it? For, after all, it is a great truth, that the mind and opinion of every individual person is an ingredient in the happiness or ruin of a government, though it be not discerned till it comes to the eruption of a general discontent. Things just, and good, and grateful, should be done, without expectation of immediate payment for so doing, but in the course and felicity of proceedings, wherein there will certainly, though insensibly, be a full return. For all things, in which the public is concerned, tend constantly, though slowly, and at last violently, to the justice of them: and if a *vis impressa* happens and carries them (as for the most part it doth) beyond or beside what is just: yet that secret vigour and influence of particular and private men's inclinations brings them back again to the true perpendicular. And, whoever he is that hath to do in the public, and

slights these considerations, preferring some political scheme before them, shall find his hypothesis full of flattery at the first, of trouble in the proceeding, and of confusion at the last."

The difficulty of taking the oath of allegiance to a new sovereign, during the lifetime of a former, evidently struck him forcibly at this period. In one part he says, "There is a further difficulty in the way of a king *de facto*, which is not in the way of a *custos*, from the oaths of allegiance, supremacy, and fealty. For how can he, who hath sworn that King James II. is the only lawful king of this realm, or that he will bear faith and true allegiance to him, his heirs and successors, take those oaths to an usurper? And, if he takes them not, how can there be regular parliaments or officers, all being disabled that do not take them? But, so long as the government moves by the king's authority and in his name, all those sacred ties, and settled forms of proceedings, are kept, and no man's conscience burdened with anything he needs scruple to undertake."

It appears that, during this period of anxiety and expectation respecting the best mode of settling the government, Archbishop Sancroft held frequent consultations on the subject with his brethren on the bench, and with other leading persons. The following letter* addressed to him by Turner, bishop of Ely, refers to one of these consultations; and shows that an intention, in which the archbishop participated, then prevailed among them, of preparing a paper to be presented to the Convention.

"*Ely House, January 11, 1688-9.*

"May it please your Grace,

"If your Grace will forgive me and my brother our unwelcome importunities yesterday, I will offer nothing at this time that I believe will be unacceptable, but something that, I hope, meets your own thoughts and inclinations. And it is this, to proceed in the designs of drawing up propositions of our doctrine against deposing, electing, or breaking the succession. And this scheme we humbly and earnestly beg of your Grace to form and put into order for us. Without compliment, your Grace

* CLARENDON'S *Appendix*, p. 539.

is better versed than all of us together in those repositories of canons and statutes, whence these propositions should be taken. If you please, my lord, to cast your eye upon the enclosed paper of little hints from our oaths, your Grace will see through my design upon you; and, I hope, will oblige us all by undertaking it. The common law papers will furnish your Grace with arguments of that kind. Could your Grace finish this, so that we might meet and settle it to-morrow, and perfect something of a preface before it, of inference upon it, from my Lord of Bath and Wells's draught; then we might communicate all this to some of our ablest advisers, and have it ready to present if occasion require. We came home from Lambeth, four bishops, in my coach, and we could not but deplore our case that we should disagree in anything, and such a thing as the world must needs observe. But their observing this and insulting thereupon, makes it the more necessary for us and our vindication to find out something in which we all can agree, and the world may take notice of our agreement. And I see nothing likely to unite us, and satisfy good men, who are now expecting and fixing their hopes as well as eyes upon us, as the body to make the stand, but such a representation as I propose. Meanwhile, if your Grace will be pleased thus to lay out your time and thoughts for us, we shall not be idle, but, I hope, very well busied this afternoon; for there is to be a meeting at Ely House of the most considerable city clergymen, Dr. Patrick, Dr. Tennison, Dr. Sherlock, and Dr. Scott: the three last, we are sure, are in our sentiments entirely, so are many, if not most, of the London ministers: three bishops, St. Asaph, Peterborough, and myself, will be present, and Dr. Burnet is to sustain his notion of the forfeiture. Since I promised your Grace the paper I read at Lambeth, about the method of our proceeding, I send it; it signifies little, and your Grace does not need it. But I enclose to your Grace another paper, which ought to be kept very private, but may be published one day to show we have not been wanting faithfully to serve a hard master in his extremity; and, for the present, it will be proof enough to your Grace, that, although I have made some steps, which you could not, towards our new masters, I did it purely to serve our old one, and preserve the public. I beg your Grace's pardon for all my

encroachments upon your goodness, and remain, with the greatest sincerity,

“ May it please your Grace,

“ Your most obedient and most obliged affectionate servant,

“ FRAN. ELY.”

On the 15th of the same month, a considerable meeting of bishops, noblemen, and others, took place at Lambeth Palace, amongst whom were the Earl of Clarendon and the celebrated Mr. Evelyn*. After prayers and dinner, the discourse fell on various serious matters connected with the existing state of public affairs. Mr. Evelyn expressed his regret that there should be, at that time, so little agreement in opinion among the leading persons both of the Lords and Commons, who were soon to convene. Some, he says, were disposed to have the princess proclaimed queen, without hesitation, others were inclined for a regency; there was a Tory party, who were disposed to invite the king back on conditions, and there were republicans, who wished to make the Prince of Orange Stadholder: the Popish party were busy in endeavouring to throw all parties into confusion; the greater part of the world seemed actuated by ambition, or some other interest, few by conscience, or moderate views. He added, that he saw nothing of this variety of motives and objects in this assembly of bishops, who were pleased to admit him to their discussions; they were unanimous† for a regency, and for suffering all public matters to proceed in the king's name: the effect of which would be, to preclude all scruples as to their oath of allegiance, and to

* See EVELYN'S *Diary*, January 15, 1688.

† Evelyn mentions that the bishops who were present with the archbishop at this meeting were, Lloyd, of St. Asaph; Turner, of Ely; Kenn, of Bath and Wells; White, of Peterborough; and Lake, of Chichester. It is observable that every one of these, with the single exception of Lloyd of St. Asaph, remained firm to the opinion he entertained at this meeting, and refused to take the oaths to King Wil-

liam. It is remarkable, too, that Lord Clarendon, in his account of what passed at the meeting, shows that he saw the turn which the opinions of the latter bishop were taking. He says, “ by some words he dropt, I fear he is too much wheedled by Burnet, and will be influenced by him to go further, to make the king's going away a cession (a word he is very fond of,) more than I wish, or than will be fit for the public good.”—CLARENDON'S *Diary*, January 15th.

facilitate the calling of a parliament, according to the laws in being.

Lord Clarendon says *, that at this meeting, he urged the archbishop (as earnestly as he could) to come to the approaching Convention, if it were only for once, for the purpose of declaring his opinion, which would have great authority; but, he adds, he would not promise. On the day before the assembling of the Convention, January 21st, he went again to Lambeth, having promised the archbishop to see him once more before the meeting. He found there most of the bishops who were in town; they all concurred in pressing the archbishop to attend the Convention, but he was obstinately resolved not to be there.

The Convention assembled on the 22nd of January. The Houses, after voting an address of thanks to the prince, proceeded to consider what steps were to be taken for the settlement of the government in the existing emergency. The Commons had no difficulty in coming to the resolution, that "King James, having broken the original contract between king and people, and, by the advice of wicked persons, violated the laws, and withdrawn himself from the kingdom, hath abdicated the government, and the throne is thereby vacant †." This they soon followed up by another resolution, that Popery is inconsistent with the English constitution, and that, therefore, all Papists shall be for ever excluded from the succession to the English crown. The Peers were much more slow in acceding to these resolutions, especially to that respecting the abdication of the king, and the existing vacancy of the throne. The question being moved, whether they should appoint a regent or a king, the latter alternative was only

* CLARENDON'S *Diary*, January 15.

† The following is related by Dr. Birch, in his *Life of Tillotson*, p. 162.

"Mr., afterwards Sir Isaac, Newton, happened to be at Lambeth Palace, when the intelligence was brought that the Commons had declared the throne vacant. The archbishop appeared concerned at it, and said, he wished they had gone on a more regular method, and examined into the birth of the young child: he added, that there was

reason to believe he was not the same as the first, which might be easily known, for he had a mole on his neck." This anecdote is remarkable, and if true, would prove that the archbishop then entertained doubts respecting the legitimacy of King James's son. But there is no other reason to suppose that he ever entertained doubts on this subject; and it will appear, that he afterwards spoke of him without qualification or doubt, as Prince of Wales.

carried by a majority of two, the numbers being forty-nine and fifty-one. Amongst the bishops and clergy in general, a strong feeling prevailed against everything which could bear the semblance of a deposing power, which was amongst the most flagrant usurpations of Popery. Accordingly, only two bishops, those of London and Bristol, voted in favour of filling up the throne as vacant; the Archbishop of York, and eight other bishops, voted for a regency. After various debates and conferences between the two Houses, they at last happily came to the joint resolution, the only one which afforded a reasonable prospect of settling the government on a permanent foundation, and of giving real security to the public liberties, that the throne being then actually vacant, the Prince and Princess of Orange should be declared king and queen. On Wednesday, February 13th, the two Houses waited on them with a declaration to this effect, and on the same day, they were proclaimed in the metropolis, to the great joy and satisfaction of the people*.

In all these important proceedings, Archbishop Sancroft took no public part whatever, never once entering the House of Lords, or declaring his opinion in any public manner. In consequence, Bishop Burnet† and others have severely censured him, as acting a mean part in these great transactions, such as neither became his character nor his station. And, in truth, it seems by no means easy for the most partial hand to assign any sufficient reason for his conduct, or to suggest any adequate grounds on which it may

* Mr. Evelyn, in his *Diary*, on February 21st, notes as follows:—

“Divers bishops and noblemen are not at all satisfied with this so sudden assumption of the crown, without any previous sending and offering some conditions to the absent king. The Archbishop of Canterbury and some of the rest, on scruple of conscience, and to save the oaths they had taken, entered their protests and hung off, especially the archbishop, who had not all this while so much as appeared out of Lambeth. This occasioned the wonder of many who observed with what zeal they contributed to the prince's expedition,

and all the while also rejecting any proposals of sending again to the absent king, that they should now raise scruples, and such as created much division amongst the people, greatly rejoicing the old courtiers, and especially the Papists.” We perceive no trace of the archbishop's having entered any protest against the proceedings, as is here stated.

† See BURNET'S *Own Times*, v. i. 810; and his *Reflections* on a pamphlet, entitled *Some Discourses on Dr. Burnet and Dr. Tillotson, occasioned by the late Funeral Sermon of the former upon the latter*, p. 100.

be justified. As the chief minister of that Church, whose interests were mainly concerned in this revolution of the government, as the first peer and counsellor of the realm, as an individual who had taken so prominent a part in the events which led to this emergency, and whose acknowledged virtues and abilities concurred with the feeling of his past services to give weight to his opinion, and to place him on a high ground of popularity with persons of all ranks, he seemed peculiarly called upon to declare his views of the existing state of things, and to endeavour to guide the councils of the nation to a right decision in so difficult a crisis. If, as appears from what is expressed in his private writings, and from his subsequent line of conduct, he thought that the nation were in danger of violating their allegiance to a legitimate sovereign, it was surely his duty, both to that sovereign and to the nation, boldly to deliver the reasons on which his opinion was founded, and to endeavour to prevent their proceeding in so erroneous a course. Possibly, he disallowed the authority by which this Convention was called : but still he must have recollected that it consisted of all the persons in the nation, who, from official and hereditary rank, from property and general influence, were proper to be intrusted with the high charge of settling the government ; and that, under the circumstances, no council could be formed for this purpose, better qualified, or more legally convened. It cannot be said that he found the current of opinion going so strong in one direction that he thought it a vain attempt to resist it ; for, as has already been stated, in the House of Peers, the balance was so nearly equal, that the smallest addition would have given ascendancy to the opposite scale.

Bishop Burnet says*, " It is the most favourable judgment to think that he was more indifferent about this matter, than some would lead us to suppose." But surely, if by this imputed indifference he meant a want of anxious concern as to the issue of the great struggle in which the nation was now engaged, the extracts which have been given from his private papers, and his whole behaviour, both before and after this period, most fully exempt him from such a charge.

* See BURNET'S *Reflections*, as above.

The most probable supposition is one which, although it may account for his conduct, will certainly not altogether excuse it; namely, that under the conflicting views which presented themselves to his mind, he really could not satisfy himself as to the course which, on the whole, was best, and, therefore, abstained from taking any part at all. On the one hand, his long experience of James's bigotted temper, and of the impossibility of relying on his promises and assurances in matters where his religion was concerned, must have excited in him a latent conviction that no real security could be afforded to the liberties of the subject, and to the Protestant Church, while an opening was left for his resumption of the government. On the other hand, his strong feeling of that monarch's indefeasible right to the throne, and his fixed conscientious determination not to transfer his allegiance to another, prevented his acquiescing in the measure of his total exclusion, without which he still felt that nothing effectual would be done. As to the notion which, as we have seen, he in common with others privately entertained, of declaring the king incapable of reigning on account of his invincible prejudices, and therefore appointing a person to govern in his name, he must soon have seen the numerous objections to such a step. For what would this have been, but to depose the king in fact, though not in name, by forcibly depriving him of the government which belonged of right to him? And what an unsettled form of government would thus have been set up. For "the invincible prejudices" which were held to disqualify James, must have disqualified every Popish successor to the throne, or else the same struggle for the civil and religious liberties of the kingdom would probably have recurred. But, if all Popish successors to the throne had been made nominally kings, but disqualified from acting personally in the office on account of their invincible prejudices, a most strange and inconvenient mode of administering the government would have been introduced. The archbishop's clear and discerning mind must soon have seen the numerous objections to this plan; and it was probably his knowledge of these objections, and his inability to devise a better plan, or one more to his satisfaction, which prevented him from taking any public part at all.

The refusal of a person so eminent in station and character, as Archbishop Sancroft, to bear any part in the public measures which were now resolved upon, and the circumstance of his not having paid his respects to the Prince of Orange, must have occasioned considerable uneasiness to those concerned in the new establishment of the government; since, in proportion as his former services, his known integrity, and his high popularity, attached value to his concurrence, must have been the regret and disappointment felt at his withholding it. The prince and princess appear to have been extremely solicitous to know his real sentiments. A remarkable anecdote, testifying this, is related by Mr. Wharton, the archbishop's chaplain*. On the day on which the new sovereigns were proclaimed, the queen sent two of her chaplains to Lambeth Palace to ask the archbishop's blessing for her; and, at the same time, by attending divine service in his chapel, to observe whether he offered up his prayers for the new king and queen. Mr. Wharton states, that he himself was then the only chaplain in attendance; and that, feeling the delicacy of the situation, and being fearful of doing anything which might commit the archbishop, he went to him to receive his directions on the subject. His Grace told him that he had no new instructions to give him as to the prayers to be used in the chapel. By this Mr. Wharton understood him tacitly to leave the matter to his discretion; for the chaplains had before made alterations in the selection of prayers which they read, without any special directions from him; but the archbishop seems evidently to have meant, by saying that he had no new instructions to give, that he desired no alterations to be made. Mr. Wharton, however, conceiving that the matter was left to his discretion, having himself determined to pay his allegiance to those sovereigns whom the will of God had endowed with lawful authority over him, and being anxious not to be the means of bringing the archbishop into difficulty, prayed publicly in the chapel for King William and Queen Mary. In the evening, his Grace sent for him, and with considerable warmth† told him, that he must thenceforward desist from offering prayers for the new king and queen, or else

* See WHARTON'S *Diary*, in the Appendix.

† *Vehementer exarscens*.—WHARTON'S MSS.

from performing the duties of his chapel ; for, as long as King James was alive, no other persons could be sovereigns of the country. Mr. Wharton, after relating this anecdote, says,—“ The archbishop had derived these scruples from the Bishops of Norwich, Chichester, and Ely, to the great detriment of the Church ; for, from this period, he, who might have carried everything as he pleased, so entirely lost all authority in the state, that the Church was brought into considerable danger.”—Bishop Burnet* mentions it as a proof of the archbishop's indifference in these matters, that, though his chaplains took the new oaths, they were not afterwards discountenanced by him. He should rather have mentioned it as a mark of his tolerant and indulgent temper, and of his willingness freely to allow to others that right which he claimed for himself, of acting and thinking from pure conscientious motives.

The oath of allegiance to the new sovereigns was taken by the two Houses of Parliament on the first day in the month of March. In the House of Commons very few refused to take it, but many in the House of Lords : in the first instance, not more than ninety temporal, and eight spiritual, peers complied ; but more were afterwards added. The prelates who took the oath were the Archbishop of York, the Bishops of London, Lincoln, Bristol, Winchester, Rochester, Llandaff, and St. Asaph ; the Bishops of Carlisle and St. David's afterwards followed their example. Those who, from a conscientious regard to the oath of allegiance they had taken to King James, absolutely refused to transfer their allegiance to the new government were the Archbishop of Canterbury, Kenn, bishop of Bath and Wells, Turner of Ely, Frampton of Gloucester, Lloyd of Norwich, White of Peterborough, Thomas of Worcester, Lake of Chichester, and Cartwright of Chester.

It is remarkable how soon the number of these prelates who refused the oath was diminished by death ; three of them, Thomas†, Cartwright, and Lake, died in the course of this very

* See BURNET's *Reflections*, p. 100.

† Thomas, bishop of Worcester, just before his death, sent for Dr. Hickes, the dean of his cathedral, and declared to him in the strongest terms

his opinions respecting the new oaths. Among other things he said—“ It is time for me now to die, who have outlived the honour of my religion and the liberties of my country.—If my heart

year; the two first, before they incurred suspension; and the last, before he incurred the heavier penalty of deprivation.

King William showed every disposition on his part to conciliate Archbishop Sancroft. The day after he was proclaimed king, he appointed his list of privy councillors; and, notwithstanding the backwardness which the archbishop had shown in paying his respects to him, he nominated him in the list*. The archbishop, it need not be mentioned, never took his seat at the privy council.

Hopes were entertained for some time that he would, on further consideration, concur with the great body of the nation in taking the new oath of allegiance; and these hopes were perhaps strengthened by his consenting so far to exercise the functions of his office as to commission other bishops to act in his name. He was called upon to do this at an early period of the new reign, for the purpose of the consecration of Dr. Burnet to the bishopric of Salisbury. Burnet† affirms, that the archbishop at first absolutely refused to allow him to be consecrated at all; but, afterwards discovering that he should incur the penalties of a *præmunire* for disobeying the royal mandate, he consented to grant a commission for the purpose. He adds, that at first the archbishop seemed determined to venture incurring all the penalties, but at last, when the danger drew near, he prevented it by granting the commission. The commission bore date the 15th of March, and empowered any three of the bishops of his province, in conjunction with the Bishop of London, to exercise during pleasure the archiepiscopal authority. It was drawn up‡ in very cautious terms so as not to imply the least direct acknowledgment of the prince filling the throne.

A charge of inconsistency§ against Archbishop Sancroft has been grounded on this act of his consenting to grant a commission to enable others to do what he deemed it unlawful to do

deceive me not, and the grace of God fail me not, I think I could burn at a stake before I took this new oath." Lake, bishop of Chichester, made a similar declaration on his death-bed.—*Life of Kettlewell*, pp. 190, 203.

* See *London Gazette*.

† BURNET'S *Own Times*, vol. ii. p. 8.

‡ *Life of Kettlewell*, p. 343.

§ See BURNET'S *Own Times*, and BIRCH'S *Life of Tillotson*, p. 330.

himself. It may readily be allowed that, strictly speaking, he cannot be absolved from the charge, since one who acts by means of others, must be considered as acting for himself; and it is in vain to say that the commission did not in direct terms acknowledge the prince on the throne, when the very purpose for which it was granted, that of giving effect to his mandate, unavoidably implied a direct acknowledgment of his authority. At the same time, it is always found that a wide difference is made as to the feelings of a person concerned, whether he personally and directly performs an act, or whether, remaining aloof himself, he merely acquiesces in its being performed by others. In the present instance too, although the archbishop did not choose himself to acknowledge the reigning authority, he may have felt unwilling directly to oppose himself to it; which would have been done by his refusing to consecrate. It has been stated*, that the non-juring party afterwards complained of him for granting this commission; and that, in consequence, after the transaction was over, he contrived to have it withdrawn from the Registrar's office.

As the archbishop persevered in neither attending the House of Lords, nor acknowledging the authority of either the King or the Parliament, the Lords, on the 22nd of March, addressed him a letter†, admonishing him to attend there in his place the next day. He excused himself by an answer which they did not deem satisfactory; they adjourned the debate on it till the following day, but then they did not think proper to pursue the matter, being sensible how strong a feeling prevailed with the public respecting the severe usage which the episcopal order had recently experienced.

On the 11th of April, the king and queen were crowned, and the ceremony was performed by the Bishop of London. Since, under ordinary circumstances, the Archbishop of Canterbury was the person who ought to administer the coronation oath, a particular statute was passed, enjoining that it should be administered either by the Archbishop of Canterbury, or by the Bishop of London, according to the discretion of the king; and he, knowing

* See *BURCH'S Life of Tillotson*, p. 330.

† See the *Lords' Journals*; also *EVELYN'S Diary*, March 29, 1689.

the probability of a refusal from the archbishop, fixed upon the Bishop of London for that purpose*.

On the day subsequent to this, Mr. Evelyn mentions†, in his *Diary*, that he visited the archbishop at Lambeth, where others were present. They discoursed much on the great prejudice and disturbance to the state, which would ensue, if the new oaths which were now in agitation should be extended beyond those who entered on new offices, and should be imposed either on persons who held no office, or on those who, having been long in office, and having therefore sworn fidelity to one government, would probably be scrupulous in binding themselves by a similar oath to another. He says, that they all knew this to be the case of the archbishop, and of some other persons, who were not satisfied with the resolutions of the Convention, declaring the throne to be vacant by James's abdication.

However, it seems quite impossible, that the new government, with a just view to its own security, could have abstained from requiring the oath of allegiance from all who held offices under it, civil or ecclesiastical. The act‡ which enjoined the oath to William and Mary to be taken by all public functionaries, and annexing penalties to the refusal, passed on the 24th of April. It allowed greater indulgence to persons holding ecclesiastical offices than to others; for whereas it required all persons holding civil or military appointments, to take the oath before the first of the ensuing August, under pain of immediate deprivation; it enacted that those who held ecclesiastical offices should, on their refusal, be suspended only on the first of August, and should be saved from absolute deprivation, if they should qualify themselves by taking the oath within six months from that time. It allowed also to the king§ the power of reserving during his pleasure to any

* See KENNETT's *History*, iii. 524. EVELYN in his *Diary*, gives a somewhat different account, by stating that the archbishop excused himself from attending at the coronation; which expression implies that the offer was made to him. It should be mentioned, that the MS. copy of the coronation service prepared for this occasion, an

approved under the sign manual of the king and queen, now exists in the king's possession; and in this the person supposed to be officiating is "William Lord Archbishop of Canterbury."

† EVELYN's *Memoirs*, v. ii p. 10.

‡ See 1 Will. & Mary, Ch. VIII.

§ See 1 Will. & Mary, Ch. VIII. 16.

twelve ecclesiastical persons refusing the oath whom he should think fit, after their deprivation, any sum not exceeding one-third part of the revenue of their benefices.

The case of all the prelates, and others, who scrupled respecting the new oath, excited much commiseration with the greater part of the nation. It was peculiarly matter of deep regret with all, that one so respected for his public and private virtues as Archbishop Sancroft, and so endeared to the whole nation by his firmness and by his sufferings in a cause which was peculiarly their own, should now be in danger of being deprived of that station which he had filled with so much credit to himself and advantage to the Church. But, besides the general character of these prelates, the very scruples which they now felt, and under which they acted, presented a strong additional claim for respect with all considerate persons, even amongst those who were most opposed to the line of conduct which they took. So solemn and so sacred is the obligation of an oath in the judgment of every reflecting mind, that errors committed on the side of a scrupulous adherence to it must ever be honoured and respected by the wise and good. In many cases where human conduct is to be judged of, there is room for difference of opinion respecting the motives which are at work; and in the generality of cases where motives of the highest nature are in action, they are mixed with others of a less elevated character. But such cannot have been the case in the instance of Archbishop Sancroft, and those who took the part which he did: here all personal and worldly considerations, even their views and feelings on the great questions of the Church and State which were concerned, tended to sway them in a direction opposite to that which they took; and the motive which overpowered all these considerations, usually so strong, could only be of the highest and the holiest character,—a sincere, unmingled, conscientious regard to the sanctity of the oath they had taken, a feeling of the sinfulness of violating it, and a firm resolution to adhere to it, in spite of the worst worldly consequences that might befall them.

As far as relates to Archbishop Sancroft, the strong assertions which he made towards the close of his life of the conscientious feeling under which he acted, must prove most fully, if proof

could be required, that this feeling, and no other, influenced his conduct. One anecdote* is related of him about the time of his first refusing the oath, tending to the same point. A M. Dubordieu, minister of the French church in the Savoy, went to take leave of him on his going to Piedmont. His Grace told him that he did not doubt that the foreign Protestants would blame his conduct; but he declared that before he took that step, he had foreseen everything that could be said, and even the injury which the part he took might do to the Protestant cause; and that he was greatly concerned, and had fasted and prayed; but that, at last, his conscience would not suffer him to act otherwise than he had done. The consequences to his worldly fortunes of the part which he took seem to have affected his mind very little. To a person discoursing with him on this subject, he said, with a smile on his countenance, "Well, I can live on 50*l.* a year," meaning his paternal inheritance†.

Under this general feeling of regret for the circumstances under which the prelates who refused the oath were placed, it will naturally be supposed that various expedients were proposed, for the purpose of saving them from the penalty of deprivation. Several members‡ of both houses of Parliament took frequent opportunities of expressing their concern for them. Amongst other plans, it was suggested in the House of Lords, that, instead of requiring the prelates and other clergy to take the oaths, the king might be empowered to tender them at his pleasure; and that only on their refusal, after the oaths were tendered, the penalty of deprivation should attach. It was thought that this power allowed to the king would prove an effectual restraint upon the clergy, and prevent their engaging in any measures hostile to the government; whereas, by actual deprivation, or the certain prospect of incurring it, they might be driven to maintain an intercourse with the partizans of the abdicated monarch, which would cause difficulty to the government. In opposition to this it was urged, that to leave to the king to determine from what individuals the oath should be required, would

* *BIRCH'S Life of Tillotson*, p. 163.

† See Letter from Suffolk, &c.

‡ See *BURNET'S Own Times*, v. ii.,

pp. 8, 9: and *Life of Kettlewell*, p. 265.

be to throw upon him a very difficult, and invidious task; and that, on general principles of policy, it is unwise and unsafe to confide offices in a State to persons who acknowledge allegiance to any other than the lawful head of the government.

Thus, the determination of the prelates remaining unchanged, the provisions of the act were suffered to take effect: Archbishop Sancroft was suspended* from his office on the first of August, 1689, and deprived on the first of February following, 1689-90. There were deprived together with him, five bishops†, Lloyd of Norwich, Turner of Ely, Frampton of Gloucester, White of Peterborough, and Kenn‡ of Bath and Wells; and about four hundred§ of the clergy of different degrees, in the two universities, and in the several dioceses of the kingdom.

Under all the circumstances of the case, it seems impossible that the government of that day could have adopted with discretion any other course. Had Archbishop Sancroft stood single in the question, there can be little doubt that, from the general respect borne towards him by all ranks of people, and the personal good will of the king, some method would have been devised of suffering him to preserve during the probably short

* A short time before his suspension and deprivation, Archbishop Sancroft gave an imprimatur with his own signature for the publication of Bishop Overall's Convocation Book; and his portrait was placed at the beginning, which seems to prove that he gave his immediate sanction to the publication. The imprimatur bears date June 24th, 1689. A writer, supposed to be Bishop Burnet, (see a periodical work, called *Mercurius Reformatus*, v. iii., No. 19,) says that this was one of the last acts of his authority, and that his print was placed in the front to help the credit and sale of the book; that he intended the book to support his high government and church notions; but that he "forgot some passages in it, which make point blank against his own party."

† Of these deprived bishops, three

lived some way into the succeeding century. Bishop Lloyd died in January, 1709-10, Bishop Kenn, in 1710, and Bishop Frampton, in 1718. The two remaining, died earlier; Bishop White, in 1698, and Bishop Turner, in 1700.

‡ On the accession of Queen Anne to the crown in 1702, a proposal was made, through the interest of Lord Weymouth, for the restoration of Bishop Kenn to the see of Bath and Wells. It was proposed that a vacancy should be made, by the translation of Bishop Kidder, who then held it, to Carlisle. Bishop Kidder gave his consent; but, when everything was ready, Dr. Kenn refused to accept the see, on taking a new exception to the oath of abjuration.—Kennett's MSS. Collect. v. i., p. 935.

§ See Appendix to *Life of Kettlewell*, No. VI.

remains of his life, if not the jurisdiction, at least, the exterior rank and emolument attached to the archbishopric. But, as the matter really stood, it would have been very invidious to grant him an indulgence which was denied to others under the same circumstances; while a similar indulgence to all who refused the oaths, would have introduced much confusion, and would have given strength and influence to the nonjuring party to a degree which might have proved highly inconvenient.

Still, though the archbishop was deprived of his ecclesiastical authority and jurisdiction, he was treated with all the tenderness and forbearance due to his character and situation. He was not disturbed in his residence at Lambeth Palace, nor immediately deprived of the revenues of the see; with the view also of further consulting his feelings, possibly too of allowing him the benefit of an alteration in his decision respecting the oath, in case time for further reflection should have the effect of producing such a change, the jurisdiction of the see was for some time placed in commission, and no successor appointed.

After his suspension, and for some time subsequent to his deprivation, he maintained at Lambeth Palace the same attendance and splendour of establishment which he had formerly done; and during the whole of this period, he constantly received visits from the nobility and others with whom he had before lived in habits of intercourse, and was treated with marks of respect by persons of every rank. It is stated too*, that, as long as he continued here, he sought, by all the means of gentleness and meekness, to prevent, if possible, a schism in the Church: and this induced him readily to accept the ministry of his chaplains, even after they had taken the oath to the government, so long as they were willing to communicate with him, and to officiate according to their usual custom.

In the course of the year 1690, the great struggle of the abdicated king for the recovery of his crown took place, which concluded with the battle of the Boyne; and various schemes and arts were devised by the Jacobite party in England for assisting his cause. Amongst other contrivances of that party was the following. A day of solemn humiliation being appointed by the

* *Life of Kettlewell*, p. 408.

government, and a form of public prayer prepared for the occasion, the Jacobites also prepared a form of prayer in favour of King James, and distributed many thousand copies of it through the kingdom. Archbishop Sancroft and the nonjuring bishops were immediately suspected of being concerned in this transaction; but, as there was never produced the slightest ground for the suspicion, it is impossible to believe for a moment, that, whatever their private feelings may have been, they would have had recourse to such an improper expedient. Some persons, however, even proceeded so far as to conjecture that they discovered in the Jacobite prayers the same hand which had been employed in composing the public occasional prayers under the authority of King James, at the time of the Prince of Orange's invasion; meaning, no doubt, the hand of the archbishop himself. In addition to this, at this period of political ferment, the deprived bishops were publicly charged, in various pamphlets of the day, with being the authors and abettors of England's miseries; with contriving and carrying on, especially in the meetings at Lambeth Palace, the ruin of their country; with maintaining a communication with France, for the purpose of inviting a foreign invasion, and thereby endeavouring to subvert the Protestant Church. In one particular work, entitled, *A Modest Inquiry into the Causes of the present Disasters*, besides many other heavy accusations, the circulation of the Jacobite prayers was directly charged upon the nonjuring bishops, as a synodical act.

For some time, the archbishop and his brethren deemed it best to treat these calumnies with the contempt they deserved; but, at last, when they found their characters traduced in the grossest manner, and when they felt that, at a time of public alarm and confusion, even their persons were exposed to some danger from the passions of the multitude inflamed by these falsehoods, they thought that it no longer became them to remain silent. Accordingly, they drew up and published a regular protestation of their innocence. It was entitled, *A Vindication of the Archbishop, and several other Bishops, from the Imputations and Calumnies cast upon them by the Author of the Modest Inquiry*, and was expressed as follows*.

* *Life of Kettlewell*, p. 260.

“Whereas, in a late pamphlet, entitled, *A Modest Inquiry into the Causes of the present Disasters, &c.*; we, whose names are hereunto subscribed, are among others represented as the authors and abettors of England's miseries; and under the abusive names of Lambeth Holy Club, the Holy Jacobite Club, and the Œconomick Council of the whole Party, are charged with a third plot, and with the composing of a new liturgy and using it in our cabals; and whereas the clergy, such of them as are styled malcontents, are said (together with others) to have presented a memorial to the King of France, to persuade him to invade England; and are also affirmed to have kept a constant correspondence with M. de Croissy in order thereunto:

“We do here solemnly, as in the presence of God, protest and declare,

“I. That these accusations cast upon us are all of them malicious calumnies, and diabolical inventions; that we are innocent of them all; and we defy the libeller, whoever he be, to produce, if he can, any legal proof of our guiltiness therein.

“II. That we know not who was the author of the new liturgy, as the libel calls it; that we had no hand in it, either in the club, cabal, or otherwise; nor was it composed or published by our order, consent, or privity; nor hath it been used at any time by us, or any of us.

“III. That neither we, nor any of us, ever held any correspondence, directly or indirectly, with M. de Croissy, or with any minister or agent of France; and, if any such memorial, as the libel mentions, was ever really presented to the French king, we never knew anything of it, nor anything relating thereto. And we do utterly renounce both that, and all other invitations suggested to be made by us, in order to any invasion of this kingdom by the French.

“IV. That we utterly deny and disavow all plots charged upon us, or contrived, or carried on, in our meetings at Lambeth; the intent thereof, being to advise how, in our present difficulties, we might best keep consciences void of offence towards God and towards men.

“V. That we are so far from being the authors or abettors

of England's miseries, (whatever the spirit of lying and calumny may vent against us,) that we do, and shall to our dying hour, heartily and incessantly pray for the peace, prosperity, and glory of England; and shall always, by God's grace, make it our daily practice to study to be quiet, to bear our cross patiently, and to seek the good of our native country.

"Who the author of this libel is, we know not: but, whoever he is, we desire, as our Lord hath taught us, to return him good for evil: He barbarously endeavours to raise in the whole English nation such a fury, as may end in *Dewitting* us (a bloody word, but too well understood). But we recommend him to the Divine mercy, humbly beseeching God to forgive him.

"We have all of us, not long since, either actually, or in full preparation of mind, hazarded all we had in the world in opposing Popery and arbitrary power in England: and we shall, by God's grace, with greater zeal again sacrifice all we have, and our very lives too, if God shall be pleased to call us thereto, to prevent Popery, and the arbitrary power of France, from coming upon us, and prevailing over us; the persecution of our Protestant brethren there being still fresh in our memories.

"It is our great unhappiness that we have not opportunity to publish full and particular answers to those many libels, which are industriously spread against us. But we hope that our country will never be moved to hate us without a cause, but will be so just and charitable to us, as to believe this solemn protestation of our innocence.

(Signed)

"W. CANT.

"W. NORWICH.

"FR. ELY.

"THO. BATH AND WELLS.

"THO. PETRIBURGH."

"Printed in the
year 1690."

It must be needless to say that, after this strong protestation of their innocence as to the charges here referred to, there cannot remain the slightest suspicion that any of them deserved the imputations which appear to have been so industriously cast upon them.

After the defeat of the attempt to restore the abdicated king

in 1690, when the government of King William was fixed on a firmer footing, another overture* was made to the archbishop and his brethren, who, though at this time deprived of their jurisdiction, were in possession of the temporalities of their sees, in order to try whether any method could be devised of preventing their final ejection,—a circumstance which strongly evinces the good will borne towards them by the governing powers. Bishop Burnet states, that the queen directed him to convey a message to the Earl of Rochester and Sir John Trevor, who were known to be on terms of confidence with the prelates, to try whether, in case an Act of Parliament could be obtained, excusing them from taking the oaths, they would be willing to perform their functions as formerly in ordinations, institutions, and confirmations, and to assist at public worship. Burnet states that no answer could be obtained to this proposal, and that all they were willing to promise, was that they would live quietly; which he malignantly interprets to mean, that they would keep themselves close till a proper time should encourage them to act more openly.

As we only know of this negotiation from the partial authority of Bishop Burnet, we cannot ascertain on what ground it was really frustrated. It should be observed, however, that even if the oath of allegiance to King William had been dispensed with, the fact of their being required to assist at public worship, would have probably proved a bar to their acceptance of the terms. For the public offices of the Church referred to William and Mary as the lawful sovereigns of the realm; and it does not seem possible that those who acknowledged another as their lawful sovereign, could have consented to assist in performing these offices.

* Bishop Burnet, in his pamphlet before referred to, entitled *Reflections*, &c. p. 102, says, that this overture was made to the bishops in the summer of 1690, after the battle of the Boyne. In his *Own Times*, he speaks of a transaction, manifestly the same, as occurring in the December of the same year. It may be mentioned, as a proof of Burnet's extreme readiness to in-

sinuate blame against the nonjuring bishops, that he finds fault with them for neglecting the concerns of their churches subsequently to their deprivation. Had he recollected that after their deprivation, they had no power to exercise any episcopal functions, he would surely have refrained from making this remark.—See BURNET'S *Own Times*, v. ii. p. 71.

Indeed, it is certain that, in reference to the latter subject, the archbishop's feelings were so strong, that he deemed it unlawful even to attend at the public service, when prayer was offered up for King William and Queen Mary. On one occasion*, some of the nonjurors waited on him, requesting to know his opinion as to the lawfulness of those who did not acknowledge the new sovereigns attending at the public service when prayer was offered up for them. He was cautious at first of giving them an answer: but, having ascertained that they were really desirous of being satisfied on this point, he told them, that certainly they ought not to go to the public service; but should get what other opportunities they could of joining in religious worship. On another occasion, several of the principal nonjurors having attended the service in the chapel at Lambeth Palace, one of them again asked his opinion as to the point of their attending the public service of the Church. He immediately gave this decisive answer: that, if they did, they would need the absolution at the end, as well as at the beginning of the service†.

Still so great was the general unwillingness to carry severe measures into effect against the deprived bishops, that further attempts‡ were made in Parliament by their friends to procure in their favour some mitigation of the penalties. It was urged that some explanation of the Depriving Act might be contrived, in a manner consistent with the honour and the safety of the government; that either a dispensation might be allowed to those who held bishoprics and ecclesiastical benefices to continue in them some time longer, subject to their peaceable demeanour towards the government; or else that, in the event of their being deprived, a certain portion of the revenues might be continued to them.

* This is given from an original MS. account, now in private hands, written by one of the nonjurors who waited on Archbishop Sancroft.

† It is remarkable that the two archbishops, Sancroft and Tillotson, opposed as they were on the subject of acknowledging the new government, agreed in opinion as to this point. On Mr. Nelson's consulting Archbishop Tillotson respecting the practice of the

nonjurors' attending the public service, he answered, "As to the case you put, I wonder men should be divided in opinion about it. I think it plain that no man can join in prayers, in which there is any petition, which he is verily persuaded is sinful. I cannot endure a trick anywhere, much less in religion."

—BRACH'S *Life of Tillotson*, p. 282.

‡ *Life of Kettlewell*, p. 279.

Nothing however was effected; probably on account of the difficulty of separating the case of a few individuals from that of the great body of the nonjurors. In regard to the latter point, that of reserving to the deprived bishops a portion of the revenue, there is one circumstance which it is not easy to explain. It has been mentioned*, that the statute, which enacted the penalties of suspension and deprivation, allowed the king the power of continuing to any twelve ecclesiastical persons one-third of the revenue of their benefices. We perceive no trace of his having ever availed himself of this power, towards any of the prelates, although the reluctance which he showed to supersede them might lead us to suppose that he would most gladly have made use of it.

Archbishop Sancroft continued to maintain the hospitalities of Lambeth Palace till August, 1690, about six months after he had been deprived of the archiepiscopal authority. At that time he dismissed many of his attendants, and contracted his scale of expenditure. The full emoluments of the see appear to have been continued to him till Michaelmas in this year. Still the king suffered some time to elapse before he filled up this and the other sees. It appears that he destined Dr. Tillotson for the primacy almost as soon as the vacancy was foreseen by Archbishop Sancroft's refusal to take the oaths. Dr. Tillotson, in a letter, dated April 19, 1689†, mentions that the king had intimated to him his intention of appointing him to the situation, and expresses great perplexity of mind, in consequence of this intimation. In another letter, written in September in the same year, he says, that the king again pressed the subject upon him with great earnestness of persuasion; and he expresses the hope that something might occur to prevent the appointment. In this state the matter remained for more than a year; the king being probably unwilling to disturb Archbishop Sancroft, and the friends of that prelate being in hopes that some expedient might still be devised, by which his final expulsion might be prevented. At last, in October, 1690‡, the king again pressed the situation upon Dr. Tillotson, and told him that, if he refused, he knew not what

* See p. 262.

† *Brace's Life of Tillotson*, p. 223.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 247.

he should do. Dr. Tillotson now consented to accept it; but begged, at the same time, that the nomination might for some time be kept a secret; he also particularly requested that he might not be represented to the world as driving out the present archbishop, and that his majesty would declare in council that, since his forbearance had produced no good effects, he would fill up the vacant situations. Still, nothing was done till the return of the king from Flanders in 1691. Bishop Burnet states*, that it was in consequence of correspondences being discovered between the abdicated king and the nonjurors, in which some of the deprived bishops† were concerned, that he at last resolved to fill the vacant sees. As soon as Dr. Tillotson's appointment was declared, he waited on Archbishop Sancroft‡ at Lambeth Palace, and endeavoured to see him by sending his name several times by a servant, and waiting for an answer. At last, he was obliged to come away without succeeding in his purpose. Dr. Tillotson's public nomination to the primacy took place April 23, 1691; his *congé d'elire* passed May 1st, and he was confirmed May 28th§.

Still Archbishop Sancroft kept possession of Lambeth Palace, and evinced no disposition immediately to quit it. One of his friends, Mr. Evelyn, mentions|| that he paid him a visit there more than a fortnight after the appointment of his successor, May 7th, and that he found the house indeed disfurnished, and the books packing up; but, on his asking his Grace when he removed, he answered he had not yet received any summons. Mr. Evelyn says that he found the archbishop alone, and discoursing of the times, especially of the newly designed bishops, the archbishop told him,*

* See BURNET's *Reflections*, &c. p. 102.

† Dr. Turner, the deprived Bishop of Ely, was the person principally suspected, and probably with great reason, of holding correspondence with the abdicated king at this time. It is said that, among Lord Preston's Papers were found letters written by him to King James and his queen. On this discovery he fled, and a proclamation for his apprehension, as also for that of two other persons, was issued Febru-

ary 5, 1690-1. Bishop Turner survived the Revolution about ten years.—See KENNETT's *MSS. Collect.* v. i. 935.

‡ See WHARTON's *MSS. Collectanea* on Tillotson, in Lambeth Library.

§ Mr. Wharton, in *MSS. Collectanea*, states, that Archbishop Tillotson received the profits of the see from Michaelmas, 1690; and that the arrears at the time of his appointment amounted to 2500*l*.

|| See EVELYN's *Diary*, v. ii. p. 25.

that they could not justify by any canon or divine law the removing of the present incumbents. One of the intended bishops, Dr. Beveridge, designed for the see of Bath and Wells, his Grace said, had been with him to ask his advice. He told him that though he should give the advice, he believed he would not follow it. The Doctor said he would. "Why then," replied the archbishop, "when they come to ask, say *nolo*, and say it from the heart: nothing is easier than to resolve yourself what is to be done in the case." "The Doctor," the archbishop added, "seemed to deliberate on this advice*."

Hitherto, the archbishop, since his suspension and deprivation, had been regularly attended by his chaplains, Mr. Needham and Mr. Wharton. Upon the first sacrament which was administered in his chapel after his see was filled, the consecration of the elements was performed by his Grace himself; one nonjuror read the prayers, and another preached before him; his chaplains were present and communicated, although they did not officiate. Soon after, being aware that he must soon after retire from the palace, he thought it just to them to retain their services no longer. Accordingly, one day†, calling them into his chamber, he thanked them for their faithful services, and told them that he now thought the time was come when they must part. Upon this Mr. Needham replied, that he was sincerely glad if their services had been acceptable to his Grace: and, if there were not too much presumption in the question, he begged his Grace would inform them why he thought that a proper time for them to part. The archbishop answered, that as affairs then stood, it might carry an invidious appearance, and might be dangerous for them, that they should serve him any longer. To this Mr. Needham made answer, that, though he differed from his Grace in opinion concerning public matters in the state, yet as to personal duties

* Dr. Beveridge, then Archdeacon of Colchester, and Canon of Canterbury, was nominated April 23, 1691, to the bishopric of Bath and Wells. He took three weeks to consider of it, during which time, Bishop Kenn, though deprived, exercised all the episcopal functions, preaching and con-

firmit in all parts of the diocese. See KENNETT'S MSS. Collections, v. i. 935. Mr. Wharton says (see WHARTON'S Collectan. under Kenn) that at one time he absolutely declined it; and that the whole delay caused much displeasure at court.

† See WHARTON'S MSS.

in attending his Grace, he feared no dangers that might happen to him at any time or place; and he believed his brother Wharton was of the same opinion. On Mr. Wharton agreeing to this, the the venerable archbishop, with vivacity in his looks, replied; "Will you so? then go on, in God's name."

This anecdote is highly creditable to the feelings of both parties concerned. His chaplains not only remained with him till he quitted Lambeth, but showed the warmest attachment to him, and paid him every attention, till the hour of his death.

At last, on the 20th of May, the archbishop received an order from the queen to quit the palace within ten days. It is stated by Mr. Wharton *, that he took great offence at this peremptory order, and, in consequence of what he deemed unkind treatment, determined not to stir till he was forced by law. It is added, on the same authority, that, up to this period, he had intended to leave his books to the library at Lambeth Palace, and with this view had placed them there: but, immediately on receiving this order, he changed his intention, and determined to take them away.

From the present conduct of this venerable prelate, we certainly cannot acquit him of some temporary fractiousness of temper; for which, however, at his advanced period of life, and under the pressure of chagrin and disappointment at seeing affairs proceed in a course which he so much disapproved, great allowance is to be made. Probably, every impartial person will think that as much tenderness had been shown to him, and to the other prelates, as could reasonably be expected, in the indulgence which had been allowed to them of ample time to re-consider their determination, and in the permission to retain, so long after their deprivation, possession of the episcopal residences. It may be conjectured, although it cannot be proved from anything which the archbishop has left, that he had privately cherished the expectation, till the actual appointment of a successor, that, although he should be deprived of the archiepiscopal authority, matters would not be carried to the extremity of forcing him to quit the see; and, therefore, when the successor was actually nominated, and the appointment was followed by an order

* WHARTON'S *Collectanea*.

that he should quit the residence, a feeling of disappointment, and a notion that he was harshly treated, got for the time possession of his mind, and disturbed its usual serenity. It must be superfluous to say, that no rational motive can be assigned for his determining to be turned out of the palace by legal process, the evil of which must only fall upon himself; or for his depriving the see of the advantage of possessing his library, on account of the ill usage which he conceived he had personally experienced from the government.

The process of ejection by law was begun without delay. He was cited to appear before the barons of the Exchequer on the first day of Trinity Term, June 12th, to answer a writ of intrusion brought against him in the king's name by the attorney-general, in which he was accused of having entered *vi et armis* into Lambeth House, (part of the king's possessions in the vacancy of the see,) on the 1st of April, 1690, and forcibly taken and held possession of it. He appeared by his attorney several times, but always cautiously avoided putting in any plea, in which the name of the king or queen was mentioned, or their title acknowledged. On Tuesday, June 23rd, the attorney-general moved for judgment: the 'archbishop's counsel pleaded that, according to the rules of the court, imparlance ought to be allowed till next term; the judges overruled the plea, and ordered judgment to pass, unless the counsel for the defendant consented to join issue on the same day. This they refused to do, and, in consequence, judgment passed.

On the evening of the same day, between seven and eight o'clock, the archbishop retired from Lambeth Palace in the most private manner; attended by the steward of his household, (who was his nephew, Mr. Sancroft,) Dr. Paman, Mr. Nicholls, and Mr. Jacob. He did not even send for his chaplains previous to his departure, or give them the slightest intimation of his intention. He took boat at Lambeth-bridge (or ferry), and went to a private house in Palsgrave Court, in the Temple. On the following day, the servants of his establishment were dismissed by the steward with much kindness, their wages being paid in advance till the following Michaelmas. A donation of alms was made to the poor of the parish, and a present sent to the curate.

On the following Saturday, the attorney-general sent a messenger to take possession of the house : but the steward refused possession, alleging his orders to deliver it to none but the legal officer. The messenger returned in about an hour with the under-sheriff, and possession was then delivered with great civility ; but the person of the steward was attached, and he was carried to the Marshalsea prison, although bail to the amount of 10,000*l.* was offered for his liberty: in addition to which, a fine of 200*l.* was imposed upon him. It is stated that he was kept there with the design of inducing the archbishop to write to the other deprived bishops, to persuade them to give up quiet possession of [their episcopal houses ; but this, Mr. Wharton adds, the archbishop scorned to do. After ten days' confinement, the steward was released, upon bail of 100*l.* Soon afterwards, Archbishop Tillotson sent him a message, to tell him that he need not be troubled about the fine, for care should be taken that it should not be demanded. To this Mr. Sancroft replied, that it must be paid, for his uncle the archbishop had so ordered it*.

The next morning, the chaplains of the deprived archbishop, Mr. Needham and Mr. Wharton, having discovered the place of his retreat, came to wait on him. He received them with extraordinary kindness, and caused them to celebrate divine service before him according to the offices of the day. They continued to officiate there daily for some time, Mr. Needham going constantly to read prayers every morning at seven o'clock ; till company and business breaking frequently in upon him, the archbishop told him, that his time not being his own, he must be content to read prayers for himself.

The archbishop remained at the house in the Temple for about six weeks, and appears to have received there the visits of his friends in all ranks of life. Amongst others, Thomas, earl of Aylesbury, called to pay him a visit. The prelate received him at the door of his apartment, which was opened by himself. The earl, struck with this circumstance as a mark of humiliation, and with the total change of everything around, from what he had formerly seen in his visits at Lambeth Palace, burst into tears. As soon as he recovered his power of speech, he told him how

* See LAMB, MSS. v. 933. Art. 73.

deeply he was affected with what he saw, and how unable he was to suppress his grief. "O my good lord," replied the archbishop, "rather rejoice with me, for now I live again."

This pleasing anecdote shows that, if his mind had before been in some degree ruffled and disturbed, it had now perfectly recovered its serene and even tone.

The archbishop left finally the metropolis on the 3rd of August, 1691, and on the 5th arrived at Fresingfield, his native place, which he never afterwards quitted.

CHAPTER XI.

His Retirement to Fresingfield—Familiar Letters—Forgery of his Name to a pretended Plot—Formal Abdication of his Archiepiscopal Powers—Consecration of Nonjuring Bishops—Literary Employment—Last Illness—Death—Epitaph.

WHILE we follow Archbishop Sancroft in his change from the Palace at Lambeth to his private house at Fresingfield, we arrive at that period of his life, in which the view presented of his habits and character is the most interesting and pleasing. We have already traced him in his progress from the more private walks of life to the highest station in the Church, rising by the natural buoyancy of high merit and upright principles. We have seen him uniformly following the path of conscience and of duty, obeying the dictates of a firm and honest mind, neither swayed on any occasion by the temptations of interest, nor awed by the frowns of power, and always steadily persevering in that course which he knew to be right. We now behold him, after having been impelled by the dictates of the same honest and upright mind to divest himself of rank, wealth, and power, from regard to his sworn allegiance to the very prince whom he had resolutely opposed when his sense of duty commanded him; and voluntarily retiring into the privacy of a humble station. It has ever been deemed a clear proof of true greatness of mind, to bear a change from lofty to humbler fortunes with equal temper and contented resignation; and perhaps it might be difficult to find a stronger instance than that now before us, in which this greatness of mind is portrayed in its brightest colours, and with its most attractive characters.

Respecting the fundamental principle on which Archbishop Sancroft acted on this occasion, and the rule by which he formed his conscience, it is well known that the opinions of the vast majority of the nation were formed in opposition to the line which he took, and that this decision has been confirmed by the almost unanimous consent of succeeding times. It was held at the time

and may be justified on the soundest principles, that, when the king had, by a series of illegal measures of government, broken the compact between himself and the people, and had abdicated the throne, the high authorities of the state, acting in the name of the whole nation, had a right to transfer the sovereignty to another; and that, when this was done, and the oath of allegiance to the former sovereign declared by the power which imposed it to be no longer binding, the subject was in conscience absolved from adhering to it. But, allowing that the archbishop formed his conscience by a mistaken rule, it admits of no doubt, that, when he had so formed it, he was bound, as a sincere and honest man, faithfully to adhere to it, and steadily to act upon it. He did so act, not with hesitation and reluctance, but with a prompt and vigorous and steadfast decision; not looking back with weak and fond regret to the high station from which he had fallen, but glorying in the part which he had taken; clinging to his humbler fortune with a relish of more true satisfaction than he appears ever to have derived from his elevated condition; and, above all, raising his desires from earth to heaven, and looking forward with firm but humble hope to a sure recompense in another world, for those sacrifices which he had made to conscience and to duty in the present.

It fortunately happens, that some of his letters*, have been preserved, written during the period of his retirement, to two of his intimate friends, Sir H. North, and Lloyd, bishop of Norwich, which convey to us a pleasing picture of his temper, feelings, and habits, during that period. We also possess an account of his last sickness and death†, which, though coming no doubt from a partial hand, still bears every mark of faithfulness; and affords some very interesting particulars respecting his behaviour, at the very close of his life.

He arrived at Fresingfield from London, as has been stated, on the 5th of August, 1691. Two days afterwards, Mr. Wharton, his chaplain, waited on him, and found him, as he expresses it, "pleasant and very well." It appears, that, in contemplation

* See *Familiar Letters to Sir H. North*.

† See a *Letter out of Suffolk to a friend in London, giving some account of the last*

sickness and death of Archbishop Sancroft. London, 1694. Supposed to be written by an eminent nonjuror, 'Mr. Thomas Wagstaffe.

of his retiring to his native spot, the archbishop had been employed from the early part of this year, in building a residence for himself, at the end of the garden belonging to the old residence of the family. This new house was as yet in an unfinished state, and was not rendered fit for his reception till the following summer.

The following are extracts from the private letters, to which allusion has been already made. The earliest of them were written very soon after his arrival at the place of his retreat. They exhibit, in a striking point of view, the cheerful serenity, and even playfulness, of his mind, and the absence from it of all querulous or angry feelings; describe the pursuits which engaged his attention; and show that, when cast from his eminent station, he was not deserted by his friends, or deprived of that respect which was due so justly to his general character.

TO SIR H. NORTH.

"Fresingfield, August 12, 1691.

"What passed in our journey, our fellow-travellers, I suppose, have told you: what hath passed since here in this obscure corner of the world, is not worth the telling. Our health, God be thanked, is as it used to be, or rather better. The sweet air and quiet of this place is much to be preferred to the smoke and noise of London. I have nothing much to be regretted, but the loss of my dear brother of Norwich, and your good company. Our great business here is to keep off (as much as is possible) all visits but of my own relations. Yet on Monday, Sir William Cook was here, with his two sons-in-law, and Dr. Hern, the court-chaplain. Mr. Wharton was here on Friday; and on Saturday my cousin, Mr. Green, who would willingly attend me; but I told him I must be (as I have been ever since I left Lambeth, or rather since that left me,) my own chaplain; and it suits not with my present condition to keep still that piece of state. The truth is, our old house is so full, that there is no room for supernumeraries; and as for the new, hay and harvest have set it so far back, that we despair of finishing, and rendering it habitable, before the next winter be past. Excuse me also, I pray, to those friends I have, either at Lambeth or in London, that I took no leave of them when I came away: even from thence I began to enter into that

privacy and silence, and retiredness, which I affect, and resolve to court (as my case requires) above all things. God Almighty have you in his keeping, my dear friend. Your's,

"W. C."

TO THE SAME.

"Dear Friend,

"*Fresingfield, August 19, 1691.*

"When I got once into the coach, I resolved, according to my usual impatience, to push on the journey, and play it off, as fast as I could endure it; and accordingly we went at the utmost stretch, as you have heard. My weariness soon went off; but, methinks, some weakness still remains: *Ma tempo fà tutto*. We build not at the rate we travelled at; though hay and harvest being in, we have recovered all our gang. Yesterday we had thirty or forty at the raising of the gallery; and it stands now in my view from the window I write by, like the bones of a dead body, which you have read of at Chirurgeons' Hall, and then tacked together with wires: but it will take so much time to daub and tile, to clothe, and cover it; and St. Bartholomew is so nigh, with his dews and mists, that I despair of dwelling in it this winter.

"It grieves me to have missed (when I was so nigh it) the seeing of my reverend brother of Bath and Wells*. I am not surprised to hear that his innocency and courage were so bold as to appear openly; but am (I confess) that he did it safely. In that condition God preserve him, and the rest; and especially my dear brother of Norwich, to whom, I pray, when you see him, mention my kindest and most hearty respects. Find out, I pray, Mr. Kettlewell; and with my kind respects give him the enclosed. He knows what to do with it. This is all; but that (Carthage must down) the steward must be sent down with all speed.

"I am, dear sir, your's,
"W. C."

TO THE BISHOP OF NORWICH.

"*August 26th, 1691.*

"The visits of my relations and the few acquaintance left me here after so long an absence are, upon the matter, now over;

Dr. Kenn.

and by their help I keep off the rest as much as is possible. So that, if there be any spies upon me, they shall find that I resolve to live as private and retired, as they can desire and I contrive; that kind of life being more agreeable to my inclinations and designs than it can be to theirs. There is nothing that I regret the loss of but Lambeth Chapel, and the company of a few friends, (and most especially of your lordship,) whom sometimes I had the happiness to meet there, and whom, in spite of all that hath befallen me, I trust I shall meet still every day in their walk to heaven: for that is almost all that is left us, to pray for and love one another."

TO SIR H. NORTH.

"*Fresingfield, September 2nd, 1691.*

"I thank God I found no inconvenience in my journey, where I use to set a watch against it: my cough does more harm that way than travel; yet even that complaint is not so loud, or troublesome to myself, or others, as it used to be at Lambeth. The lassitude also (whether scorbutical, or moral,) is no matter of complaint; the first being gone, and the second not yet come; for (whatever some may think) I shall not easily grow weary of this place, if they will let me be quiet here. If you please to send me a note for a diet drink, as Horace said—*quicquid dicam aut erit, aut non*, I will not say to you, I'll take it, or not take it; but I'll consider that I have occasion enough for it, that the season is proper, and the suggestion (as all your's are) very friendly. For the new house, you have your wish; and I see clearly it will not be habitable, till cold winter, which begins to face us already, again turns his back upon us. I am sorry that upon my occasion, you met with the reverse of the jealous man's fate: he seeks what he would not find, and you found what you would not seek. But *Allegramente!* 'tis over now, and could not have been long avoided. The man that escaped from Palsgrave Court, is as glad that he is gone, (though he loves not to make comparisons,) as he that told it, or he that heard it: but if they will not suffer him to be quiet where he is, he will return, he saith, if not to Palsgrave Court, to some place nigh it. As for Fleetwood Shepherd's buffooneries; a satirist observes, that

great men heretofore affected to keep natural fools in their houses, to convince the world that there were some in it who had less wit than themselves; but the modern humour of keeping those about them which pretend to have more wit, and affect to show it too, I understand not. At, at, fruantur (quoniam ita volunt) hâc insaniâ: ego autem (charissime) fidâ vestrâ et perpetuâ amicitîâ. Vale."

TO THE SAME.

"Fresingfield, September 23rd, 1691.

"For your news I thank you; but cannot retaliate, nor make any descants upon it; from hence how should I? Prince Lewis of Baden is to me greater and more considerable than Lewis of Bourbon, and better worth the inquiring after. I pray, therefore, in your next, tell me, if you know, whether he be an hereditary sovereign, prince, or cadet; of what age he is; and if there be a *taille douce* of him, I would willingly see it. And for that, or any other expense you have, or shall be at for me, keep particular account, that when my nephew comes back to you he may reimburse you. He got hither in two days very well, and hunts and eats accordingly. Remember me kindly to all that have not forgotten me and inquire after me. I thank God I am much in the same case, in point of health, as I was at Lambeth; that is, in much better than I could expect, all things considered. Since I have lost your good company, continue, I pray, (what is best next,) your kindness to, your's,

"W. C."

TO THE SAME.

"Dear Friend,

Fresingfield, October 7th, 1691.

"How kind and obliging is that complaint of your's, that I give you not so much trouble as you would be well pleased to have for my sake! You call it business; but, alas! sir, I have little of that, and, if we can get off my nephew's bonds, shall have every day less, at London; where (as we had it yesterday in the psalm) I am become like a dead man out of mind; and like a broken vessel, of no use at all.

"Yet that honourable and excellent lady, (it seems,) even in the midst of her inexplicable sorrows, is pleased to think of me;

and mention me: the God of heaven comfort her in the one, and reward her for the other. The Sunday after I received from you that doleful news, I had just occasion to remember her in reading the Gospel for that day, concerning the good widow of Nain, and her only son, which is so parallel to the present case. And though we cannot at present expect the miraculous event, yet the time will come, when our merciful Lord will say to the son, Young man I say unto thee, arise; and in the mean, I most humbly beseech Him to have compassion on the mother, and to say to her (effectually) Weep not.

“Alas! for honest old John Cook! all my old friends drop away, one after another, and I shall stand alone, I think, ere long of those of my time: but in the course of things it cannot be long. God fit me for that hour; and (if it be His good pleasure) from sudden death deliver me. I am, dear Sir, yours,

“W. C.”

TO THE SAME.

“*Fresingfield, November 11th, 1691.*

“I must confess, dear friend, it was a very friendly care you took of us, to warn us so often not to make too much haste into our new house; but withal it was a vain one: for alas! we have yet no new house. Our work without doors was ended with the last month; which, had it been as severe as October sometimes is, we could not have finished in this month, but we have a winter's work still to do within doors, in paving, and plan-chering, and daubing, and ceiling, and plastering, and glazing, and wainscotting, making doors, laying hearths, &c.; so that we find it a very troublesome thing to bring a new (as well as an old) house over our heads. In the mean time, the old tenement is packed as close as it can well be, from end to end, with ourselves, and children, and servants, and workmen: so that, when my cousin returns, (which I now hope he will ere it be long,) *Intus existens prohibebit alienum.* Yet our contentment here is as great, and I should be unthankful, should I not acknowledge that our health is rather better than elsewhere; our food plainer, but eaten with a better appetite; our course of employment and action the very same, only not scened so illustriously, nor set off

with so good company and conversation. The trouble of visits is well abated; and the hard weather and ill ways, which are at hand, will put an end to them; and we shall be in as great retirement and solitude as our enemies or we ourselves can wish. We make shift to say our prayers together daily, though not in so much company, nor in so proper a place, as at Lambeth: but God, I trust, will accept us. Mr. North did me the honour to call at this poor cottage in his progress: I should rejoice to hear that he came to you safe, and continues so; and what became of the proposal once in my hands, from him to Sir R. G. My entire respects, I pray, to them both; and accept the same yourself from your faithful friend,

“ W. C.”

TO THE SAME.

“ *Fresingfield, December 23, 1691.*

“ Honest, constant, dear friend,

“ I write this only to present my kindest respects to my noble friend, your landlord, and yourself; and to let you know, (seeing you so kindly inquire after it,) that I bless God I am well, at the old rate, which you know, and have been so (without the interruption of one single day) ever since I came to this place. But the spirit of calumny, the persecution of the tongue, dogs me even into this wilderness. Dr. Lake, of Garlick Hill, and others, have (as I am informed) filled your city with a report that I go constantly to this parish church, and pray for I know not whom, nor how, and receive the holy sacrament there; so that my cousin had something to do, to satisfy even my friends that it was quite otherwise: whereas, I was never so much as once out of this poor house, and the yards and avenues, since I came first directly from London into it; and I never suffered our vicar, or any other, nor even my chaplains, when they were here, so much as to say grace where I eat: but I constantly officiate myself, *secundum usum Lambethanum*, which you know, and never give the holy sacrament but to those of my own persuasion and practice.

“ I think, if I should immure myself between four walls, I should, notwithstanding, be thought to send and receive letters and intelligence; I know not whether, by the pigeons of Aleppo,

or Leyden, or perhaps by the old romantic post, Sir Pacolet, on his wooden horse. It is somewhat strange, that I should be accused to one prince for having invited his Highness of Nassau to invade my native country, and to another for inviting his cousin the King of France thither; whereas, I should as soon have consulted the witch of Endor (were she to be found) to bring about anything I desired, as have made either of those addresses; for rebellion is witchcraft too; and if I should do anything that is evil, though with pretence that good might come of it, my damnation would be just. As for this new-sprung informer, whether raised of himself, or conjured up by others, I cannot but wonder to find myself in the same treason with the noble lords N——m and H——f, and so many others, whom I know not at all, or not well enough to subscribe the same address with them. And though I know not how long cockatrices sit upon their eggs, yet I cannot but think that after nine months' brooding them (and I know not how many more) they should by this time be addle, and never come to a vital exclusion. For my part, I defy all the children of the father of lies. *Hic murus aheneus esto, nil conscire sibi.*

Yours, Yours,

“W. C.”

TO THE SAME.

“Fresingfield, February 9, 1691.

“Dear sir, my constant good friend,

“The latter end of last week, being in the humour to unload my table, and sort my papers, I found so great a heap of your weekly kindnesses, that I was much out of countenance, reflecting how great and continual trouble I have put you to, while all the advantage and delight lies on my side; but that your excellent good nature makes you take great delight in obliging your friends. Having gone thus far, I could not forbear to review some of your letters; and find thence occasion to ask you some questions, and desire some further informations, (by degrees though, as your leisure may give leave,) and so, instead of making some better return for your former kindness, to put you upon new trouble. *Vetus beneficium invitat novum.* The great lady who hath of late given so much business to all tongues and

pens amongst you, hath sure a complice of her crime; but you name him not, and my conjectures cannot find him; because I cannot reconcile them to what you write of him in two of your letters compared together. Name him, I pray, *hardiment*.

"I have often wondered (and ignorance, you know, is the cause of admiration,) what the clause (A) in the bill of treasons might be, which hath occasioned so many conferences, and so much pro and con between the two Houses, that on one side they are forced to detach the Halifaxes, and such heroes, for their assistance. The weekly votes often mention this unlucky clause, but are never so kind as to tell us what it is; taking it for granted, perhaps, that we poor country boors know as much as you Londoners, who have chairs allowed you to sit upon the very stage. A word or two of your's may enlighten my ignorance.

"With much grief of heart I read the tragical exit of my poor countryman, Dr. Clench, both for his own sake, whom I knew, and for that of the public too, that such barbarous practices are got in amongst us. If that work of darkness dawns since into any clearer light, gladden my eyes with it, I pray; and tell who that Harrison is who was under misprision of the bloody deed.

Your's,

"W. C."

TO THE BISHOP OF NORWICH.

"June 8, 1692.

Speaking of the conduct and temper of different persons of his day, he says, "I am old enough to look back forty years, and by comparing times and events, to find that all this is but *vetus fabula per novos histriones*. There was in former days, too, treachery and baseness, futility and leakiness, negligence and ill-management on some one side; and on another, exact care and indefatigable diligence; and effects usually answer their causes, and successes prove accordingly. The comfort is, that God is ever the same, wise and good, sits above, and does whatever pleases Him; does it in his own manner too, and at his own time; and when that is once come, (after much fluttering and struggling to no purpose) *volenda dies en afferet ultro*. In the mean time, let us possess our souls in patience, and wait the Lord's leisure,

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but (be it never so long) *εν αγαθοποιᾳ*, that He may find us so doing."

TO THE BISHOP OF NORWICH.

"Sept. 27, 1692.

"I have now slept ten nights, as well I thank God (to say no more) as ever I did in a great palace; and I like it so well, that I could gladly say, *In nido meo morior*. But the changes and chances of the world are so many and the malice of men so great, that my lot, perhaps, may yet be that in the prophet, to hear a summons, *Arise, and depart, for this is not your rest*. If so it prove, God's holy will be done; 'behold the servant of the Lord; be it unto me according unto his word.' 'Tis not the first time that I have built, and left others to dwell there."

In the spring of the year 1692, while Archbishop Sancroft was enjoying his peaceful retirement, rejoicing at his escape from the tumults of the great world, and smiling at the reports which his enemies were busy in spreading, respecting his engaging in plots against the state, a forgery of singular atrocity was committed by two wretches of the names of Blackhead and Young, which, though it was principally directed against Sprat, bishop of Rochester, yet would, in the event of its success, have involved our venerable archbishop, and several other noble persons, in a charge of high treason. These villains laid their train of mischief with considerable address. They prepared a paper with counterfeited signatures annexed, purporting, that they, whose names were subscribed, solemnly promised, in the presence of God, to contribute their utmost assistance towards King James's recovery of his kingdoms; that to this end they would have ready to meet him at his landing, 30,000 men well armed; would seize upon the person of the Princess of Orange, dead or alive, and take care that some strong garrison should be forthwith delivered into his hands; also, that they would furnish him with a considerable sum of money for the support of his army. Seven names were affixed to the paper; among which were those of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Rochester, and the Earl of Marlborough; the archbishop's being first. The handwritings were

imitated with such exactness of art, that the Bishop of Rochester declared he should have believed his name to have been written with his own hand, had he seen it in another place. One of the conspirators, Blackhead, contrived to introduce this paper into the Bishop of Rochester's house, at Bromley, and there to place it within a flower-pot, in his parlour.

Information was, without loss of time, conveyed to the privy council, of the pretended plot against the government; and an order was accordingly issued for the arrest of the Bishop of Rochester. "It was," says the bishop, "on Saturday, May 7th of the present year, 1692, in the evening, as I was walking in the orchard at Bromley, meditating on something I intended to preach the next day, that I saw a coach and four horses stop at the outer gate, out of which two persons alighted. Immediately I went towards them, believing they were some of my friends, coming to give me a visit. By the time I was got to the gate, they were entered into the hall; but seeing me hastening towards them, they turned and met me about the middle of the court. The chief of them, perceiving me to look wistly on them, as being altogether strangers to me, said, 'My lord, perhaps you do not know me, I am clerk of the council, and here is one of the messengers: I am sorry I am sent on this message, but I am come to arrest you on a suspicion of high treason.'"

There was little chance that a plot, resting on the bare testimony of two men of no character, should fail of being confuted by clear circumstantial evidence, as soon as the test of close examination was applied to it. When these wretched contrivers were confronted with the bishop before the privy council, the train of their falsehood was soon laid open, and the innocence of himself and of the others concerned, proved beyond the possibility of doubt.

It appears that one of the conspirators, Young, had been concerned before in various impostures, in the course of which he had made frequent applications to Archbishop Sancroft with forged papers, and under several false pretences. The Bishop of Rochester thought it right, after the detection of the foul conspiracy, to trace out, and publish to the world, all this man's infamous proceedings. With this view, he wrote to Archbishop

Sancroft in his retirement to inquire all that he knew respecting him. The archbishop answered him in the following terms.

“ *Fresingfield, July 18th, 1692.*

“ My good Lord and Brother,

“ I have just now received your's of July 5th, and having read it over, immediately take up my pen to tell you, that, in compliance with your earnest desires, I give up and consign into your lordship's hand the papers concerning Young, the falsary, which I sent to Mr. Needham, to be made use of and disposed as your lordship in your discretion shall think fit: with this caution notwithstanding, that, whereas there are amongst them some letters of my dear old friends, Bishop Lloyd of Norwich, and Bishop Lloyd of St. Asaph, (who are both at present in or about London,) no use to be made of them without their privity, or any further than they allow,

“ As for the narrative you desire, you shall certainly have it, as well as my old leaking memory will enable me to form it. But though I must take the longer time for that, yet because you tell me you long with some impatience for my answer to the rest, I have hastened to give it (and my kindest respects) with that readiness and heartiness which becomes,

“ My lord,

“ Your lordship's, &c.

“ W. C.”

The archbishop afterwards sent the Bishop of Rochester a long letter, detailing the particulars of all that he knew respecting this person; and both these letters were published by the bishop*. In a letter subsequently written to the Bishop of Rochester, dated April 12, 1693, the archbishop says, “ The ever-waking providence of a most gracious God, was pleased lately to make use of the quick wit and steady memory, wherewith it has so eminently blessed you, as an instrument to deliver me (with yourself) from a most dreadful ruin, which hung black over my head when I dreamt not of it. For, had that cursed association

* See *A Relation of the late wicked | Robert Young, by Thos. Lord Bishop*
Contrivance of Stephen Blackhead and | of Rochester, 1692.

been found in the flowerpot, (and it is next to a wonder that it was not,) or had you made a weak defence, my quarters here had been beaten up too, my study ransacked by messengers and soldiers, and I myself hurried up to London; so that, notwithstanding my innocence, the very journey, the attendance and imprisonment, would in all probability effectually have destroyed me without any further prosecution. But, blessed be God, our soul is escaped out of the snare of the fowler; the snare is broken, and we are delivered. The short remainder of my life is much too little to express my thankfulness to God our deliverer. And I am glad that your last letter hath opened me a way how I may in some measure show myself of the great benefit which, by your means, I enjoy in common with you, though your's was all the trouble and the charge."

In this peaceful retirement at Fresingfield, the venerable archbishop passed the year 1692. His late chaplain, Mr. Wharton, mentions* that he visited him again in August in this year, and found him in good health and spirits, ready to enter into his new apartment, then completely finished and furnished. He again made him a tender of his constant service and attendance; the archbishop took the offer in very kind part, but would not accept it, resolving to live without the service of any chaplain or other clergyman. The prevailing desires of his mind at this time seem to have been to divest himself entirely of the forms and trammels of his former greatness; to live in as close a seclusion from the world as he could; and, considering himself on the brink of that goal which was to terminate all his earthly hopes and fears, to devote himself to those serious reflections and those pious offices which might fit him for the solemn change he was soon to undergo.

That the feeling which originally took possession of his mind, of the unlawfulness of taking the oaths to the new government, was a powerful one, will not be doubted, when it is considered how great a sacrifice of worldly interest and eminency he made in consequence of it. After he had made the sacrifice, the natural turn of his mind must have been to justify to himself the

* WHARTON'S MSS.

line he had taken, by confirming and strengthening that view of things on which the resolution was founded. In addition to this, his more free and unreserved communications after his retirement were principally maintained with persons who had acted on the same views with himself; and, as many of these carried their feelings and prejudices on the subject which divided them from the rest of the nation, much farther than he did, the result seems to have been that his mind, besides being confirmed in its approbation of the part which he had taken, gradually advanced to a stronger conviction of the error and even sinfulness of the part taken by others. Thus, as we shall find, he was induced to think and speak of those of the prelates and clergy who refused the new oath, and were in consequence ejected, as forming the true Church of England, while he looked upon the rest who remained in possession of their benefices, or were appointed to those vacated by the nonjurors, as forming an apostate and rebellious church. And under the influence of the same feelings, he was also induced to take steps which no friend to his memory can justify or approve, for laying the foundation of a permanent schism in the Church of England.

The first measure which he took for this purpose was the formal consignment of his archiepiscopal powers, on his retiring from the see, to Dr. Lloyd, the deprived Bishop of Norwich.

The instrument, by which he appointed Bishop Lloyd his vicar in all ecclesiastical matters, is dated from his "hired house," at Fresingfield, February 9th, 1691, rather more than half a year after his departure from Lambeth. He styles himself in it "a humble minister of the Metropolitan Church of Canterbury." He states that, having been driven by a lay force from the house of Lambeth, and not finding in the neighbouring city a place where he could conveniently abide, he had retired afar off, seeking where, in his old age, he might rest his weary head: and, as there remained many affairs of great moment to be transacted in the Church, which could be most conveniently attended to by one resident in London or its vicinity, he therefore appoints him (Bishop Lloyd) his vicar, and commits to him all the authority belonging to his place and pontifical or archiepiscopal office. The instrument proceeds, "Whomsoever you, my brother, as occasion

may require, shall take and adjoin to yourself, shall choose and approve, confirm and appoint, all those, as far as of right I can, I in like manner take and adjoin, choose and approve, confirm and appoint. In a word, whatsoever you in matters of this kind may do, or think proper to be done, of whatever magnitude or description it may be, you are confidently to impute to me*."

The instrument is remarkable, as showing the state of the archbishop's feeling at the time, and the firmness with which he

* It may be desirable to give the whole of this remarkable instrument in the original language. The following copy is taken from a MS. in Emmanuel College.

"Wilhelmus Providentiâ Divinâ Ecclesiæ Metrop. Cant. humilis minister, reverendo admodum in Chr°. patri, et fratri in Domino charissimo, Gulielmo, eâdem providentiâ etiamnum Nordovicensi Episcopo, salutem et fraternam in Domino charitatem: Cum ego nuper ex ædibus Lambhithanis vi laicâ pulsus, et non inveniens in urbe vicinâ ubi tuto possem, aut commode commorari, procul secesserim quærens ubi fessus senio requiescerem, multa autem jam tum remanserint, et emergent quotidie plura, eaque momenti maximi, Dei scilicet et Ecclesiæ negotia, nullibi ita commode atque expeditè, ac in magno illo rerum gerendarum theatro transigenda; tibi igitur, frater dilectissime, qui pro eâ quâ polles animi fortitudine, et pio, quo flagras, zelo domus Dei, adhuc in suburbis Londinensibus (palantibus undique cæteris) moraris et permanes, adeo ut neminem illuc habeam ita *ισοψυχον*, quique ita *γρησιν* rerum mearum et ecclesiæ satagat, tibi inquam ad hæc omnia pensitanda, et finaliter expedienda, hoc quicquid est muneris mei, et pontificii, fretus prudentiâ tuâ, et solitâ in rebus gerendis solertiâ, committo in Domino, teque Vicarium meum ad præmissa rerumque mearum et negotiorum actorem, factorem, et

nuntium generalem, vigore harum literarum eligo, facio et constituo. Apage autem Notariatûs et Marculphi formulas, inter bonos bene agere oportet. Dicam summarîè et de plano, quoscunque tu, frater, prout res et occasio tulerit, assumpseris et adjunxeris tibi, elegeris et approbaveris, confirmaveris et constitueris, Ego quoque (quantum in me est et de jure possum) assumo pariter et adjungo, eligo et approbo, confirmo et constituo. Uno verbo, quicquid in istius modi negotiis feceris ipse aut faciendum duxeris, id omne quantum et qualecunque illud fuerit, mihi audenter imputa. Ecce Ego Wilhelmus manu meâ scripsi. Ego præstabo non solum ratum sed et gratum insuper habiturus. Splendor autem Domini Dei nostri sit super te, frater, et opera manuum tuarum dirigat et confirmet. Quin et eripiat te, fratresque nostros omnes, ex ore leonis, et de manu canis, et a cornibus unicornium exaudiat vos: Mactetque denique et cumulet omni benedictione spiritali in celestibus in Christo Jesu. Datum e proprio conducto (quod enim mihi molior tugurium superveniente acri hyeme nondum exædificatum est) hic in campo gelido, nunc etiam profundè gelato, sito intra tuâ diocrescos pomæria, nono die Februarii, Anno Domini 1691°.

"W. CANT.

"Actum in præsentia meâ, W^m Sancroft, jun. Notarii Publici."

maintained the principles he had imbibed. Bishop Lloyd used this commission with prudence and moderation: he continued to act under it till the day of his death, but with so much caution, as to give as little umbrage as possible to the bishops who were in possession of the sees.

A second measure, which he took, or at least in which he concurred, still less admitting of justification, was the providing for a regular succession of nonjuring prelates and ministers. We derive our principal information on this subject from the author* of the *Life of Mr. Kettlewell*, one of the most eminent nonjurors. It is stated that at some period within the two or three first years after the Revolution, probably in the year 1691 or 1692, the exiled king ordered a list of the nonjuring clergy to be sent over to him: a list was accordingly made out, as perfect as could be procured in the existing state of things, considering the unwillingness which, for obvious reasons, many must have felt to have their names appear in such a list. Out of the number whose names were thus sent over, it is related that, at the request of the nonjuring bishops, King James nominated two for the continuance of the episcopal succession, the one to derive his spiritual functions and authority from Archbishop Sancroft, the other from Bishop Lloyd, of Norwich, the eldest suffragan bishop. The two appointed were Dr. George Hickes and Mr. Thomas Wagstaffe†; the former was consecrated by the title of Suffragan of Thetford, the latter by that of Suffragan of Ipswich. The archbishop died before their consecration, and his archiepiscopal functions were performed on the occasion by the Bishop of Norwich, assisted by the other nonjuring bishops‡.

* Dr. Birch states that this was Dr. Francis Lee, who compiled it from the papers of Dr. Hickes and Mr. Nelson. See *Life of Tillotson*, p. 269.

† Dr. Hickes had been presented by Archbishop Sancroft to the living of Allhallows Barking in London, and was latterly Dean of Worcester before the Revolution. Mr. Thomas Wagstaffe had been Rector of St. Margaret and St. Gabriel Fenchurch, and Chancellor of the cathedral church of Litch-

field.—See the *Life of Kettlewell*, App. No. ix.

‡ The succession of bishops and presbyters among the nonjurors was continued during the greater part of the last century: Dr. Hickes appears to have been the leading person amongst them; and during his lifetime all those who joined in the setting up a rival communion remained compact. Afterwards they became much divided. The number of nonjuring bishops

This separation of the Church into two communions was by no means approved at the time by the whole of those who refused the new oaths; and it gave rise to considerable discussion amongst them, conducted with some heat and vehemence. It was properly remarked by some of that body, that even if it were to be allowed that the authority by which the prelates were deprived was not legal or not competent, or the cause of deprivation not just, still the separation of the Church by setting up altar against altar must lead to practical evil: but if, on the other hand, it should be considered, as most persons on cool consideration must be disposed to allow, that the non-acknowledgment by these prelates of the existing government was a sufficient cause for their deprivation, and that the authority which deprived, being that of the government appointed by the estates of the realm, was both legal and competent, then no possible doubt could be admitted as to the impropriety of the step which was now unhappily taken.

Of the particular reasons which induced Archbishop Sancroft to concur in this measure, further than the strong general feeling which he always entertained and expressed, of the illegality of the deprivation of himself and the other prelates, it is impossible to speak, because they are not recorded. The transaction took place, it should be remembered, at a time when his spirits were broken by ill health and the events which had befallen him; and when

seems to have varied at different times. In 1716, there were five, Jeremy Collier, Nathaniel Spinkes, — Hawes, and two others. Among the names of persons afterwards consecrated were those of Dr. Deacon, Dr. Thomas Brett, Mr. Thomas Brett, Mr. Smith of Durham, Dr. Rawlinson, and Dr. Gordon. The latter died in London, November, 1779, and is supposed to have been the last nonjuring bishop. He left behind him two or three presbyters. The nonjuring bishops were always particularly strict in their consecrations, which were performed by at least three bishops, the acts of consecration being always signed, sealed, and properly attested, and carefully preserved. Dr.

Deacon separated from the other nonjurors, and himself alone consecrated one or more bishops; but those consecrations were never allowed by the main body. The succeeding bishops of the nonjurors were not consecrated with any particular titles, as were the first bishops by those of suffragans of Thetford and Ipswich. There were many very eminent and learned men amongst the nonjurors at different times; amongst others, Collier, Leslie, Dr. Brett, Dodwell, and Nelson. It is supposed that, at the end of the last century, there was not a single nonjuring congregation or minister remaining.

the influence of others was likely to impel him to the adoption of measures which his own sounder judgment would not have approved. That judgment would, no doubt, have otherwise taught him to reflect, that it is no light matter to cause, in any case, a schism in the Church of Christ; that the grounds of such a proceeding ought to be most seriously weighed, before they are acted upon; that, as the evils which result from it are certain, there ought to be a clear conviction that those evils cannot conscientiously be avoided, and that they are overbalanced by contrary good. It would have suggested to him that, in the present instance, there could be no sufficient reason, for establishing a permanent schism, as no difference of doctrine or discipline* was alleged, no doubt existed with respect to the validity of the ministerial functions in the Church in possession, but merely a separation took place on grounds purely civil and temporary in their nature, which only affected those who had taken the oaths to the former sovereign, not others who were to succeed them. It was one thing to refuse to hold an office, civil or ecclesiastical, under a sovereign to whom, while another sovereign lived, they felt they could not conscientiously take the oath of allegiance; but it was quite a distinct consideration, whether they should deliberately pronounce the Church established under that sovereign, to be, on this ground alone, not a true Church; an opinion which alone could justify them in setting up a rival communion against it. However, it does not become us to judge dogmatically, or to censure with too much harshness, in a matter where some of the wisest and the best of men were divided in their opinions; where we have the fullest reason to be assured that all acted from the

* Soon after the Revolution, alterations in the Liturgy were proposed, with the view of satisfying the scruples of Dissenters; for this purpose, a commission of divines was appointed under the great seal, to consider the matter and prepare a scheme to be laid before the Convocation. The Convocation, however, were hostile to the measure, and nothing was done. On this Bishop Burnet remarks, (vol. ii. p. 30—34,) that herein was a happy direction of

Providence: for the Jacobite clergy were at this time contemplating a schism in the Church, and wished to be furnished with some specious pretences for that purpose; if alterations therefore, had been made in the Rubric and in other parts of the Common Prayer, these persons would have contended that they still adhered to the ancient church in opposition to those who were setting up new models.

sincere dictates of conscience; and where the name of Sancroft is found to sanction and to dignify a cause, which our own individual judgments may little dispose us to approve.

The following letters, written by him to his friend Sir H. North, towards the end of 1692, and at the beginning of 1693, exhibit, in the same manner as those which have already been quoted, a pleasing picture of the even serenity of his mind. Although he was manifestly wearied with the world and disgusted with its outward pomps; although he had experienced disappointment and reverse to a degree which it falls to the lot of few persons to know; and although, as we have seen, some strong prejudices had taken deep root in his mind; yet we do not find that his temper was soured by the events which had befallen him; we perceive nothing of that moroseness of spirit which is too often engendered by disappointment, and nourished by seclusion from the world. On the contrary, we find him, whenever we are able to descend into his private feelings, possessed of a calm and cheerful temper, evidently satisfied with the part he had taken, and appearing to enjoy his retired condition, quite as much as if he had been directed to it entirely by his own free choice, and not by the course of circumstances which had made it his duty to embrace it.

“ My dear Friend,

“ *Fresingf. April 2, 1692.*

“ Were not your kindness to me extraordinarily great, and to yourself as little, you could not endure the weekly task you put yourself to for my sake: which, though you take with cheerfulness, I cannot receive without some trouble and shame, when I consider how much the heap daily grows, and how seldom, and nothing I return. But my cousin being now coming toward you, I could not forbear scribbling a word or two, to give him an occasion of visiting and thanking you, and presenting my kindest respects both to yourself and my noble friend under whose roof you are.

“ I observe how you begin your last letter, that since you wrote last, you had been but once abroad; which makes me fear you have not been well, and that the weather continues to be unkind to you, as I have observed it to be this winter; though you now be gotten on the right side of the river, as they call it.

There is no help for it, sir, old age creeps on, and with it infirmities must come: may they (I pray God) be few and easy to you. When you next visit the Bishop of Worcester*, (who still so kindly inquires of me,) I pray give him my kind respects. Your letter is doubtfully penned, whether it was he or my old friend of St. Asaph, that was in danger of some mischief upon unskilful blood-letting; but the best is, that whichever it was, all is well again. I pray put my lord in mind, when you see him next, of two things which some years since he told me in privacy; assuring him, that I have never before mentioned either of them to any man. One was, that Mr. Boyle had then a most pious intention of making an establishment for an excellent public use, in the which the bishop was to be employed; and desire him to let me know (if he think fit) what became of it; and whether there be any provision since made for it, either by will or otherwise.—The other was, that he had an intention at that time forthwith to review and much augment his *Origines*; for which, truly, there is very great reason, there having been many new and desperate atheistical attacks made upon our most holy religion since his first edition; which I have with great satisfaction again read over since I came hither, and would be glad before I die, (if God so please,) to see the new-risen adversaries fall under the same hand that vanquished the old ones.

“Your faithful friend.”

“My dear Friend, *Fresingfield, Sept. 27th, 1692.*

“A few days since a gentleman, our neighbour, came to me from Sir Nevil Catlin, desiring a direction where he might find you in London. It seems his old complaint (*hernia in scroto*) is returned upon him, within these two or three months, accompanied with some other new ones; and he is resolved to put himself into your hands. I blamed him for deferring so long; which is always dangerous, but especially in *recidivo*. *Obsta principiis*. I gave him a certain direction to your lodging; and it may be he hath been with you already; or may be ere this comes to you. However, it will be needless altogether for

* Dr. Stillingfleet.

me to add anything; your seeing him to need your assistance, (being so worthy a person) will sufficiently dispose you to afford him your best advice.

“ Dear sir, the constant trouble you undergo for my sake is so great, that I ought not to burthen you with extraordinaries, especially since all the retribution I make you is to acknowledge them, and to give you thanks, and pray God to reward your kindness to

“ Your faithful friend.

“ I have now slept ten nights in my new lodgings; and could gladly say (if so it please God) *In nido meo moriar*; but the changes of the world are so many, and the malice of men so great, my lot may be that in the prophet, *Arise, and depart, for this is not your rest*. If so it be, God’s will be done; ‘behold the servant of the Lord; be it unto me according to his word.’ ”

“ My dear Friend, *Fresingfield, Jan. 18th, 1692.*

“ On New Year’s day, when your good neighbour and his good friend were so kind as to visit us, the service (you know) is very long, and I officiated myself, as I use to do, in a very cold room too, where there never was a fire, and the day, you may remember, very cold too. So that, by that time the office was performed, I was indeed very cold; and so, I believe, was the whole company. But that hereupon I got cold, or had then upon me anything of that, which in England we usually call a cold, is a mistake. My deafness, which made it troublesome both to me and to my friends to converse with me, hath been many months upon me: and, therefore, I dined privately here, as I use to do, nor have I eat at the old house, or been there, but twice (and once was on Christmas-day) since first I removed hither. Notwithstanding, I thank you for your kind advice, and will take a dose of my pills, which I have by me, as soon as the weather relents a little.

“ Unless my memory hath got a strange cold too, your neighbour said not one word to me of any bill thrown out of the House of Lords, or of any protestation made, or entered, with the reasons of the dissent: insomuch, that when I read all this in your

letter, and had considered it, as well as I could, I could not guess what the bill concerned."

"*Fresingfield, March 15th, 1692.*

"I hear that Mr. Hody hath published a large answer to Mr. Dodwell, and the rest that have written against him; and that Bishop Parker's Latin *History of Fanaticism* is also printed; but before I be at the expense of either, I would gladly know what the world thinks of them, and whether it be worth the while to purchase them.—*A Dio, amico mio.*"

The following letter, written also to Sir H. North, at the end of June, 1693, by the archbishop, about five months before his death, presents him to us still in the same calm contented frame of his mind in which we have before seen him.

"*Fresingfield, June 28th, 1693.*

"My dear and constant Friend,

"I pray, will you give my hearty thanks to Mr. Lownds for the noble present I received lately from him through your hands. It is one of the goodliest volumes I have now in my study. I shall never be able to make him amends for this kindness, and yet he may double the obligation, if he pleases, by sending me a particular of all that was omitted or added, or altered in the MS. original, for which I will readily gratify them that take this trouble for me. But, my good friend, I expected that you, having, it seems, read it over, should have given me your opinion of it from your so late perusal, as I gave you from my old memory, after so many years. At least, I should be glad to know how it is generally received, and how it sells. As to Mr. Lownds's fear that it should not be acceptable to me upon that consideration, which he expressed to the right noble earl, alas! the good man, I see, knows me not, that nothing of that sort troubles me. It is long since, that I said of that great pile, even while I was in it, the old Leonine verse:

Nunc mea, nunc hujus, sed post ea nescio cujus.

"When I was suddenly driven out of it at eight or nine o'clock at night, I wish it were known, how cheerfully I turned my back upon it, and how soundly I slept the night following

under another man's roof. But now, in this cottage of my own building, (this lodge in a garden of cucumbers, *questa povera mia capanna*,) I am as well to my contentment, as the greatest he *qui latè et laxè et magnificè habitat*. All my fear is, and greater too than that of old, lest I should be forced from hence too, for I would fain say, if I durst, as holy Job did, *In nido meo moriar*. But, alas ! he was mistaken, and so may I, should I say so ; and therefore I lay my hand upon my mouth and say nothing ; but, as it pleaseth God, so come things to pass. But, as one said wisely, *Nolo hodie crastinus esse miser*, Sufficient to this day is the evil thereof, as Wisdom itself said. In the mean time, I will write over my door, as the Italian did upon his house,

Parva sed apta mihi ; sed nulli obnoxia, sed non
Sordida, parva meo sed tamen ære domus.

“Afford me your prayers, dear friend ; that, when I remove from hence, (and that cannot be far off,) I may, by God's mercy, have a building of God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens.

“ W. C.”

Mr. Wharton paid him another visit, March 20, 1693 ; he describes him as having then assumed the outward appearance, together with his secluded habits, of a hermit. He says that he found him in good health, and wearing a long beard. The archbishop then delivered to him many papers, and promised to leave him all his papers at his death.

It does not appear that pursuits merely literary formed any considerable part of the occupation of his time during the retirement of his latter days. In the earlier portions of his life, his thirst for knowledge had been ardent ; and he had been an eager and industrious collector of useful information. In the high station of the Church, however, which he had latterly filled, it is probable that the various important affairs which demanded his attention, afforded little leisure for the cultivation of a literary taste. As years advance too, it generally happens, that the mind is more disposed to repose itself on knowledge already acquired, than to exert much activity in the acquisition of more. With all cultivators of useful information, in addition to the

pleasure arising from the gratification of curiosity, and the exercise of a literary taste, a strong operating motive is derived from contemplating the advantages which may be expected to result from the acquisition at some future time, in the intercourse and relations of society. But when the term of life begins to be visibly approaching, when the relish for social intercourse with the world begins to languish, and the portion of life, which is still future, becomes of small account with respect to its whole duration, it seems natural that the ardour for making those acquisitions should gradually abate. There is, too, a period of life when, valuable as human knowledge is, it is seen and felt to be a mere earthly possession, and, as such, soon to be relinquished, in common with all that belongs to earth. One, like Archbishop Sancroft, divided from the world by a line which he neither hoped nor desired to pass, with whom the relish for this world's good had passed away, and every hope and view were fixed upon a better, must have felt that the tie which connected him with the present life was growing weaker day by day; and that, except for the purpose of amusement and relaxation to his mind, he had very little inducement to apply himself to the pursuit and acquisition of worldly knowledge.

There was one literary employment, however, to which he began to devote some attention during his retirement, but which, probably from setting about it with a languid feeling, and without much relish for the employment, he deferred so long, that death surprised him in the midst. This was, the preparing and arranging for the press the Diary and papers of Archbishop Laud. It has already been mentioned, that he originally engaged in the design of publishing these papers at the instance of Archbishop Sheldon, when he was dean of St. Paul's. The execution of the design was at that time deferred on various accounts. When he became archbishop, he in vain hoped for leisure to accomplish it. In his retirement to Fresingfield, after his deprivation, he seems to have intended seriously to set about the work, but in consequence of other intervening employments, and perhaps from the unsettled state of his mind, arising from the change of his circumstances, he did not commence it till August, 1693, two years after he had fixed himself there. At that time, he opened his papers, began to compare the copy with the original, to divide the history

into chapters, to examine the citations and references, to note down different memoranda for his own use in preparing the edition, to mark out the places that required to be amended or considered, to make marginal observations, and to draw up a list of memorials for an appendix. He was earnestly engaged in this business; the original and copy of Laud's *Diary*, with many of the papers relating to it, lay before him on his writing-desk; and he was noting on a loose paper some queries and directions, when he was seized, on the 25th of August, with a violent fever, from which he never recovered, and which, in the course of about three months, put a period to his life.

The account, which we fortunately possess, of the circumstances attending his last sickness, and of his behaviour under them, exhibits a most pleasing picture of the piety and many virtues which adorned his mind. We behold in him an instance, such as has not often been preserved on record, of a soul, not exempt indeed from all human weakness, but elevated to a noble height of true Christian heroism, duly prepared by habit and reflection for the approach of death; humbly, yet firmly, resigned under all the dispensations of Providence, and cheered in its last extremity by a meek and animating faith.

The disease which attacked him was at first an intermitting fever; the fits were extremely violent, insomuch, that, after the second, a fatal termination was apprehended; he lay for some time speechless and bereft of his senses; but, by the assistance of the Peruvian bark, administered under the advice of a physician, a third fit was prevented. Yet, although the recurrence of the fits was thus prevented, the state of his health remained without any promising hopes. He recovered no strength, but continued to sink under a general weakness and decay. He had taken to his bed on the 25th of August, when the fever first attacked him, and rose from it no more.

As soon as he had reason to apprehend a fatal termination of his illness, and perceived that he had no prospect of maturing with his own hand for publication the papers of Archbishop Laud, he expressed the desire of seeing his late chaplain, Mr. Wharton, for the purpose of consigning them to his care. It so happened that Mr. Wharton soon heard of his illness, and in

consequence took a journey to visit him. He arrived at Fressingfield on the last day of October. The archbishop then acquainted him with his design, related to him how the papers of Archbishop Laud first came into his hands, how he had often prepared to complete the publication of them; and, having now at last earnestly set about the business, found himself interrupted by an attack of sickness, the termination of which would, in all probability, be fatal. He then told him that, feeling his own inability to complete the design, he desired to consign it over to his care; and immediately he caused to be placed in his hands the original and copy of the *History* and *Diary*, together with all the papers belonging to them, and all the observations and collections that he had made respecting them. At this time, Mr. Wharton says, he was evidently decaying apace; his voice was weak, and his spirits faint, so that he could not give him as perfect an account as he desired of the manner in which the copy had first come into Archbishop Sheldon's hands. For, on his having omitted to explain this matter distinctly, and Mr. Wharton, in consequence, requesting further information on this and some other points, he answered, "These are material questions, but I am weary with speaking, and my spirits are faint. I cannot now make you any further answer herein." After this, Mr. Wharton says that he never presumed to trouble him with further questions on the subject.

The archbishop desired Mr. Wharton to call on him again after a fortnight or three weeks. He accordingly waited on him November 21st. At that time he found him sensibly drawing near to his end. The archbishop was perfectly aware of his state. He first caused Mr. Wharton to look over all his papers, the greater part of which had not been opened or put in any order, since his removal from Lambeth. On proceeding to do this, Mr. Wharton found many papers relating to Archbishop Laud, scattered among several parcels of other writings. He continued to make this search, till he saw such evident marks of the near approach of death in the archbishop, that he thought it proper to desist. Knowing too the archbishop's intention and desire of having the last office of religion performed by a nonjuring clergyman, he was fearful that his presence might be

the occasion of some embarrassment, and thought it best to take his leave of his venerable patron, and to quit the house. The archbishop took leave of him with the greatest possible demonstrations of kindness and affection. He gave him his blessing twice, in the most solemn manner, as he knelt by his bedside. He professed his great repentance for all sins, but more particularly for not having acted with that vigour, authority, and power, in his archiepiscopal office, which the course and state of the Church might have required, and for thereby having omitted to employ to the utmost the means of serving the Church of Christ, which God had put into his power. He discoursed to Mr. Wharton for a long time in the most devout manner respecting his hopes and assurance of a future state.

In designing to make a disposition of his property, the archbishop certainly betrayed some weakness; for he formed the resolution not to make any will which would require to be proved in the courts of his pretended successor; and, in consequence, he was much perplexed as to what steps he should take. Mr. Roger North*, who had been the steward of his archiepiscopal courts, and who had maintained the habit of frequently visiting him subsequently to his retirement, happened to come to him when he was near his end, and found him in great trouble of mind as to this matter of settling his affairs. Various persons of different professions had been consulted, and had suggested several puzzling expedients, which only served to distract the archbishop's mind on the subject. When Mr. North came, the archbishop explained to him, in few words, (for he was then labouring under great weakness and difficulty of utterance,) the trouble which this matter gave him; Mr. North immediately suggested that the simplest and best expedient would be, to make a deed of gift of all his property to his nephews, and to declare, by another deed, that he made it over in trust for himself during the continuance of his life; and, afterwards, for such purposes as he should appoint. The archbishop was much pleased with this suggestion, and begged him to draw up a form of the deed; he immediately complied, and left directions in writing for filling up the blanks. "It touched my spirits

* See GUTCH's *Miscell. Curiosa*, vol. i. Pref. p. xxxix.

extremely," says Mr. North, in giving an account of this visit, "to see the low estate of this poor old saint; and with what wonderful regard and humility he treated those who visited him, and who were not worthy to serve him, and particularly myself*." Mr. North, having performed this service, took the blessing of the dying archbishop, and left him after a short visit of about an hour.

During the whole course of his languishing sickness, we are told by those who had the nearest access to him, that there was not the least appearance of disturbance or discomposure; but that the same meekness of spirit which had always calmed his passions under former dispensations, now came to his support, and indeed in this last extremity of life shone forth with a brighter and a holier flame. At one time, when he had shown his physician his wasted and shrivelled legs and thighs, destitute of flesh and all moisture, he said, "And can these dry bones live?" We are told by one who was present with him during the last days of his life, that he was not only contented and willing to die, but that he ardently prayed for his release from life, still under the most humble resignation to the will of God. He used to express the sense of his heart in these words of the Psalmist, "I will bear the indignation of the Lord, because I have sinned against Him, I will lay my mouth in the dust." In his greatest extremities and agonies, he was wont to set before him the great example of our Saviour; for he would say, "As a lamb carried to the slaughter he was dumb, and opened not his mouth." Those eminent virtues of humility and patience, of trust in God and resignation to His will, of universal charity and good-will to men, which, by the long practice of his life, had become habitual and familiar to him, displayed themselves most eminently at this critical season. "We beheld," as is stated by the narrator of his last hours, "the graces of his life triumphing over the decays of nature, and becoming both the support and the crown of his death-bed. All which most plainly teaches us how necessary it is to gain a habit of virtue in the days of our health, that we may not have to seek it at that season when we have the greatest occasion to use it."

The piety of his soul, which was always quick and active,

* See GUTCH'S *Miscell. Curiosa*, vol. i. Pref. p. xxxix.

cast a holy light upon the gloom of his death-bed scene. It was surprising to behold in the perfect failure of all bodily supports, what presence of mind he would summon up to his assistance, under the affliction which lay upon him : with what wonderful dexterity and readiness he would alleviate his sufferings by pious and suitable ejaculations, taken out of the Scriptures, or breathed forth from his own pious soul. Whenever a sharp pain, or a dejection of spirits, such as was incidental to the sickness under which he laboured, approached him, he was ever ready to meet it by uttering some divine sentence, or some holy prayer. That which came nearest to a complaint, was only a description of his wasting condition, in these pious words : " Thy hand is heavy upon me day and night, my moisture is like the drought in summer." But even this was joined with a feeling of firm reliance on the providence of God ; for, said he, " I am low, but must be brought lower yet, even to the dust of death ; but though He kill me, yet will I trust in Him."

We saw at this period, proceeds the narrator of his last illness, his ardent charity both extended and limited, according to the apostle's direction, " to all, but especially to them of the household of faith." His suffering brethren were the principal objects of his charity and prayers, but not exclusive of others ; for, upon the frequent returns of his exercises of devotion, he suited his prayers to the general needs of men, and recommended all his brethren to the Divine mercy. In short, if he had any enemies, they were included in his prayers ; in particular, a short time before his last hour, after solemnly praying for a blessing on his family, relations and friends, he earnestly implored forgiveness for his enemies, as he desired it of God for himself.

That his strong feeling of the rectitude of the course which he had taken, did not narrow or enfeeble his feelings of kindness towards those who differed from him, or prevent his most fully allowing that they also acted from pure conscientious motives, is clear from all his conduct during the close of his life. We have seen in how affectionate a manner he took leave of one of his former chaplains, Mr. Wharton. His other chaplain, Mr. Needham, came to him, as he lay upon his death-bed. The archbishop gave him also his blessing in the most affectionate manner, and

after some other conversation, said thus to him : " You and I have gone different ways in these late affairs, but I trust heaven's gates are wide enough to receive us both. What I have done, I have done in the integrity of my heart." Upon this, Mr. Needham modestly attempted to explain the motives which had influenced his conduct ; to which the archbishop replied, " I always took you for an honest man. What I said concerning myself, was only to let you know, that what I have done, I have done in the integrity of my heart ; indeed, in the great integrity of my heart."

Throughout his whole retirement, particularly during his last sickness, he never permitted clergymen who had taken the oaths, to perform the offices of religion about him, and never received the communion with them. It appears that a report had been spread in London, that during his last illness, he had changed his practice, and received the communion from the hands of a juror. This report troubled him much ; probably, he conceived that the alteration in his conduct would be construed to imply that he was, now at the close of his life, less firm in maintaining his opinions than he had formerly been. Accordingly, nine days before his death, he dictated to one of his friends, who was standing by, the following letter, stating what his practice really was. He probably intended that it should remain as a document, in case the matter should be at all called in question.

" Nov. 15, 1693.

" My lord is sensible of how great concernment it is, who ministers to him in holy things. He never receiveth the sacrament, but with those who are nonjurors. He never admits any of the irregular clergy to be at the holy offices. As for the rest, if they come when he goes to prayers, he excludes them not. This has been his course.

" This my lord dictated to me from his own mouth. You see how ready his apprehension and judgment are."

The writer* who records this, adds that the archbishop never altered his practice afterwards, and that he took especial care that

* WAGSTAFFE'S *Letter from Suffolk*.

a juror should not perform over him the burial service, and even appointed by name the person whom he desired to officiate. The day before he breathed his last, he received the sacrament from Dr. Trumbull, who had formerly been his chaplain, and who was a nonjuror. Dr. Trumbull* came there accidentally that day: he had intended to receive it from the ejected minister of Eye, Mr. Edwards.

As the venerable archbishop drew near his end, he repeated to those who stood around him, his protestations of the sincerity with which he had acted. He told them that his profession was real and conscientious, and not proceeding from any sinister ends: that he had the very same thoughts of the present state of affairs which he had at first, and that, if the same thing were to be acted over again, he should quit all that he had in this world rather than violate his conscience. As a further confirmation of the state of his feelings, in less than an hour before he died, he put up these two hearty and earnest petitions to God,—“that He would bless and preserve his poor suffering church, which by this revolution is almost destroyed; that He would bless and preserve the king, the queen, and the prince, and in His due time restore them to their just and undoubted rights.”

His memory and intellects remained perfect to the last moment. His bodily faculties remained so too to a singular degree. A very short time before he breathed his last, he called for a common prayer-book, and, though one was brought to him of the smallest print, he himself turned to the commendatory prayer, and ordered it to be read. That being performed, he composed himself more solemnly for his departure. He put his hands and arms down to both his sides, and desired his head to be placed lower, thus in a manner laying himself out to receive the stroke of death. In this posture, with the utmost cheerfulness and resignation of spirit, he breathed his last a little after midnight, on the morning of Friday, November the 24th, 1693.

His remains were committed to the earth on the night of Monday, November the 27th. He had marked out the spot where he desired to be laid, in the church-yard of Fresingfield, in the angle between the eastern wall of the church porch, and

* Mr. WHARTON'S MSS.

the southern wall of the church. He had chosen this place for his interment sixteen years before, in case he should die in that country. On his tomb the following inscription, prepared by his own hand, with directions for the manner in which it should be put up, is a lasting document to posterity, if such document can be wanting, in addition to the many proofs afforded by all that he did and said, of the real sincerity of heart which influenced his conduct.

(On the right side.)

P. M. S.
LECTOR, WILHELMI, NUPER ARCHIPRÆSULIS,
(QUI NATUS IN VICINIA)
QUOD MORTI CECIDIT, PROPTER HUNC
MURUM JACET;
ATQUI RESURGET:
TU INTERIM SEMPER PARATUS ESTO,
NAM HORA QUA
NON PUTAS DOMINUS VENTURUS EST.
OBIIT 24^o NOV. ANNO DOMINI, 1693;
ÆTATIS SUE 77.

(On the left side.)

P. M. S.

William Sancroft was born in this parish. Afterwards, by the providence of God, Archbishop of Canterbury; who, after he had lost all which he could not keep with a good conscience, returned hither to end his life, where he began it; and professeth here, at the foot of his tomb, that, as naked he came forth, so naked he must return; the Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away; as the Lord pleaseth, so come things to pass; blessed be the name of the Lord.

(Over his head the following verse.)

ST. MATT. 24. 27.

As the lightning cometh out of the east, and shineth even unto the west, so shall also the coming of the Son of Man be.

CHAPTER XII.

HIS CHARACTER, ETC.

His personal Appearance—Familiar Habits—Talents and Literary Pursuits—Public Character—Steadiness and Uprightness of Principle—Conduct at the Period of the Revolution considered—Piety—Liberality—Patronage of eminent Men—Conclusion.

ARCHBISHOP Sancroft appears to have been of a slender person, and spare habit of body. His features, as we may judge from the portraits of him which remain, were well turned, and his countenance in its general cast expressive of placidity and meekness, together with much shrewdness and sagacity. His constitution seems to have been never strong: we have found him frequently, at different periods of his life, alluding to his invalid state of health; and his constitutional maladies appear to have gained upon him as he advanced in years.

Respecting the private habits of his life, the materials which are supplied to us from those who conversed familiarly with him are unfortunately scanty. Mr. Needham, who resided with him as one of his chaplains during the last six years of his occupying Lambeth Palace, from the year 1685 to 1691, has mentioned a few particulars which describe his great abstemiousness as to diet, the simplicity in his general mode of living, and the regularity with which he divided his hours for devotional exercises and for other employments.

“He was,” he states, “the most pious humble good Christian I ever knew in all my life. His hours for chapel were six in the morning, twelve before dinner, three in the afternoon, and nine at night, at which times he was constantly present, and always dressed.

“His usual diet, when it was not fast day, was two small dishes of coffee, and a pipe of tobacco, for breakfast; at noon, chicken or mutton; at night, a glass of mum*, and a bit of bread, if anything†.”

* Mum is ale brewed from wheat. | † See Cole's MSS. in the British

Of Archbishop Sancroft's talents and acquirements, the fruits that remain are fewer than might be desired. It is stated* that he always aimed at great privacy in his thoughts and writings, being unwilling to appear in print, and never consenting to do so, from the commands or solicitations of others, when he could with any decency avoid it. But, few as his remaining works are, they are sufficient in value to place him in a rank of considerable distinction for literary eminence. He seems to have been, during the whole of his life, a close and regular student; and, especially in his earlier years spent in the bosom of the University, to have taken a wide range of literary pursuit, cultivating not only the severer and more solid branches of theology, ethics, and natural science, but also the lighter studies connected with works of taste and imagination. He was evidently a keen and quick observer of passing events, and was able to trace with a discriminating eye the nicer traits of the characters of men, and the motives, concealed beneath the surface, by which their conduct was influenced. His talents, it may be inferred from his writings, were rather solid than bright; and he excelled rather in clearness of understanding and correctness of reasoning, than in power of genius: still there are parts of his writings which claim for him no mean credit for strength and originality of conception. His memory seems to have been strong and retentive; and since, through study and labour, he furnished it with abundant materials, he was able to command a store of images and illustrations, to be produced as occasion might require. The style which was most natural to him, appears to have been that which consisted of short, pointed, and pithy sentences, with a certain quaintness of expression and dry humour, such as we find in some of his familiar letters.

As far as can be ascertained, Archbishop Sancroft never published any thing with his name affixed except three sermons, preached on public occasions, and published by special desire; namely, the sermon on the occasion of consecrating the new bishops after King Charles's restoration: the sermon preached

Museum. Cole remarks that the account which Mr. Needham here gives of his patron is extremely meagre, and that much more ought to have been

said by one who had access to his familiar habits.

* See Preface to *Miscellan. Curiosa*, p. xxxii.

before the king on the day of public humiliation after the great fire; and that preached on the day of general thanksgiving for deliverance from the Popish plot. These sermons afford a very favourable specimen of his literary powers, containing much valuable matter, and displaying considerable erudition. The style indeed must be considered too scholastic and dry; but this peculiarity must be attributed to the bad taste in such compositions prevailing in the times in which he was educated and wrote: still there is undoubtedly truth in the remark of Dr. Birch*, that the style of his sermons is more suited to a disciple of Bishop Andrews, than a contemporary of Dr. Tillotson. One allowance, however, should be made in favour of Archbishop Sancroft, that, as Tillotson was junior to him by many years, in an age when the taste in pulpit compositions was rapidly improving, he possessed superior advantages for acquiring a correct taste, and forming his style on an approved model.

These three sermons are given in the Appendix; and to them is added the tract, entitled *Modern Policy*, published during the period of the Commonwealth, which, although it never bore Sancroft's name, was by very general consent attributed to him at the time. It seems, besides, to bear strong internal proofs of having proceeded from his pen, from the resemblance of the style to that which was most familiar to him, and which he adopted in his private letters.

His industry in pursuing his studies and collecting useful information was extraordinary; and it was continued through that period of life, when various avocations pressed most upon him, and when the mind generally seeks repose from active and persevering exertion. "It was shameful," says Mr. Wharton in the dedication of his *Anglia Sacra*, in July, 1689, "for a young man to be otherwise than diligent in his studies, and to be remiss in doing the greatest possible service to the Church, when he saw most unwearied diligence, as well in reading as in writing, in so dignified a prelate, who had long ago exhausted the whole circle of literature, at a time when he was more than seventy years of age, and weighed down with the cares of church and state." "Your other virtues," he proceeds, "I as a person of far inferior

* See BIRCH'S *Life of Tillotson*, p. 164.

character and condition can only admire; that of diligence and study is the only one which I can imitate."

Another of those who were acquainted with his private habits, Mr. Roger North, bears a similar testimony*. "It was to me," he says, "a wonder to observe the industry of that man. If any presented him, as many did, with discourses upon business depending, he would register them in his own books with his own hands, using his own exquisite orthography and abbreviations, and mending the English, and periodizing in all places, as it ought to be done; and he did me the honour to do the like, with all that he received of me."

He was particularly diligent as a transcriber. It appears to have been his constant habit to transfer to his common-place books, with the most persevering industry, copious extracts from the printed or manuscript works which he perused. He also carefully preserved all the papers relating to the various business in which he was engaged, laying by the letters addressed to him as well on private as on public topics, and in many instances keeping copies of the letters written by himself. In addition to this, he appears to have been a diligent searcher after original letters of distinguished persons, and documents relating to public transactions, ecclesiastical and civil, for the purpose of transferring them into his collections. The consequence is, that the MSS. which he left behind him are extremely voluminous. It has been said that no person ever transcribed so much with his own hand: it is certain that he displayed a patient industry of research which has not often been exceeded; and, as his collections were made with judgment as well as industry, they abound with much valuable and important matter†.

* Pref. to *Miscellan. Curiosa*, p. l.x.

† In the Harleian Collection in the British Museum, besides three volumes of letters written to Dr. Sancroft at different periods of his life, and from persons of all descriptions, are thirteen volumes (numbered 3786—3798) of miscellaneous collections made by him, relating to a great variety of subjects, public and private, many of them having marginal notes

written with his own hand. Among Bishop Tanner's MSS. in the Bodleian are a great number of volumes, consisting of extracts on different subjects made by his own hand, collections of MSS. with frequent marginal notes of his own, letters addressed to him, several of his common-place books, &c. In the Lambeth library also, a few of his MSS. are preserved, having remained in the possession of Mr. Whar-

The great features of Archbishop Sancroft's character, as evinced in the general tenor of his life, and in his conduct during the leading public transactions in which he was engaged, have been very variously drawn by friends and adversaries; as is generally the case with those persons who have acted a part in great questions which have much divided the opinions of men, and in regard to which those who have firmly adhered to one party, have necessarily incurred the animadversions of the opposite. Bishop Burnet has infused into the character he has drawn of Archbishop Sancroft an unusual quantity of gall, taking every opportunity of throwing out adverse insinuations against him, animadverting with much severity on his failings, and either entirely passing over, or touching with a very light hand, his many excellencies and virtues. But it should be remembered that Bishop Burnet was a man most strongly imbued with the spirit of party, and seldom sparing in his animadversions on those whose sentiments and course of conduct were at variance with his own. He wrote too at a time when the passions of men were still heated on the questions that regarded the settlement of the government at the Revolution; and, further, he appears to have had an impression on his mind, that he had personal grounds of complaint against the archbishop*. And, as the writings of Bishop Burnet, especially his *History of His Own Times*, have been deservedly popular, and generally read, his partial representations have had more weight than they ought, in guiding public opinion as to the character of this venerable archbishop. It is true that full

ton, and been purchased among his collection.

* The manner in which Burnet has treated the memory of this distinguished prelate has not passed altogether without just animadversion. Granger, (see *Supplement to his Biographical Memoirs*.) after quoting Bishop Burnet's delineation of his character, says—"Such is the character of this prelate, as drawn by a contemporary writer (Burnet) who would have considerably softened the harshness of his features, if he had been more like San-

croft, who had a generous and enlarged heart to objects of benevolence. He was highly respected, and great deference was paid to his judgment by the prelates, his fellow sufferers, in that difficult and dangerous conjuncture for the Church which preceded the Revolution: his conduct was indeed judicious and exemplary on that trying occasion."—Bevil Higgins too, in his remarks on Burnet, (p. 201,) has some just observations on the same subject.

justice was done to the archbishop's memory by many of his friends, especially by those of the nonjuring party*; but, as they wrote on the unpopular side, and many of them in small or occasional works, their statements have extended very little beyond their own party, and have not had much general influence on public opinion†. At the distance of time to which we are now arrived from the transactions in which Archbishop Sancroft acted his part, we are enabled to view the characters and conduct of the individuals concerned in them with an eye clear from those prejudices which before dimmed the vision to the light of impartial truth. And it may now be permitted to the biogra-

* See particularly the *Life of Kettlewell*; also that of Bishop Bull, written by Mr. Nelson; and the *Letter from Suffolk* by Mr. Thomas Wagstaffe. Thomas Hearne also, the eminent antiquary, a nonjuror, in the Preface to his edition of *Otterbourne*, p. 45, passes an encomium on Archbishop Sancroft which is worth transcribing.

"Sancroftus ille est, qui (id quod doctis pariter et indoctis notissimum est) ob fidem in Patrem patriæ illibatam palatiis, honoribus, juribusque omnibus, officio archiepiscopali annexis, vi laicâ pulsus et spoliatus, postea summâ cum animi tranquillitate vitam (quæ profecto probatissima semper, tum in rebus prosperis tum in adversis erat) ad mortem usque egit privatam, omnibus, ne quidem ipsis etiam inimicis, insignitè ut cunq̃ue improbis, exceptis, eum venerantibus ac honorantibus; utpote qui a maleficiis abhorrens nihil usquam fecerit, quod non probaverit conscientia, quæ in ipso sane adeo recta erat ut eâ ne transversum quidem unguem unquam discesserit.

"Id operæ pretium est (et ad rem nostram maximè attinet) monere, Sancroftum sicuti, in omnigenâ eruditione, (nam interiores scrutabatur et reconditas literas,) versatus est, ita et antiquitatum ac historiarumstrarum fuisse peritissimum: quod plane ipsius ingenio, diligentia, et judicio tribuen-

dum est. Hinc et notas (quæ lectoribus non possunt non valde arridere) subinde codicibus apposuit curiosas simul et eruditissimas."

† As one proof of the indisposition which prevailed to do justice to Archbishop Sancroft's memory for many years after the Revolution, it may be mentioned, that, till the time of Archbishop Cornwallis, his portrait was not even placed among those of the Archbishops, at Lambeth Palace. Mr. Baker states that he was informed by Dr. Farmer, Master of Emmanuel College, that "not one of Archbishop Sancroft's successors had spirit or generosity to hang up his picture in the palace, till Archbishop Cornwallis, observing the portrait of him in the gallery at Emmanuel, requested his (Dr. Farmer's) leave to have a copy of it taken; this was done accordingly, and the portrait sent to Lambeth"—"a mark," he adds, "of moderation as well as good sense and liberality," in the archbishop who gave the order.—See Cole's MSS. at the British Museum, v. 49. 399. To this anecdote it should be added, that Archbishop Sutton has, in addition to the portrait just mentioned, placed also in the gallery at Lambeth the original portrait of Archbishop Sancroft, from which the engraving at the beginning of this volume is taken.

pher of this great and good man, who from conscientious motives refused his allegiance to the government established at the Revolution, to do full justice to his memory, without incurring the suspicion of being unfriendly to those great principles which produced that important event in our history, and have since justified it in the judgment of all posterity.

The grand feature in Archbishop Sancroft's character is his firm and unbending integrity, his lofty and immoveable uprightness of mind, which made him, on all occasions, steadily adhere to that cause which he believed to be right, and postpone to this proud feeling every consideration of worldly interest.

"Even in his greener days," as his panegyrist expresses it, "this great quality of his soul was ripe and perfected." Bred up a true son of the Protestant Church, and in firm attachment to the kingly form of government, he could never be brought to countenance, in any shape or degree, the measures which were directed to the subversion of the altar and the throne, to approve the actors in those scenes of rebellious guilt, or to acquiesce in their acts when success had unhappily crowned them. At the time when the oaths of the Covenant and the Engagement were pressed through the nation for the purpose of propagating and confirming rebellion, he had lately risen into life: examples abounded on every side of him, of persons of more advanced years, and more ripened experience than himself, who were induced readily to comply with all that was required by the prevailing powers of the day; and there was every appearance that, without bending to these usurped authorities, the door to worldly advancement and emoluments must be closed. Still, standing firm on those high principles which education and reflection had deeply fixed in his mind, he determined to spurn at all policy which was not grounded on sound conscientious feeling; and, by suffering at last expulsion from his fellowship, he seemed to deprive himself, for conscience sake, of all on which the comforts of his future life depended.

In a later period, his firm courage in pursuing the path of conscientious duty was put to the test in a different manner, and came out approved from the trial. Although he was a steady and

unshaken friend to the monarchical form of government, as he had fully shown by the sacrifices he had made in support of it, he was by no means prepared to support the encroachments of arbitrary power on the liberties of the people; and, least of all, when those encroachments were intended to pave the way for the introduction of religious doctrines which he conscientiously disapproved. From the feeling of respect which he bore to King James as his sovereign, he was manifestly unwilling to appear as the open opposer of his measures; and, therefore, abstained from such opposition as long as he felt that his duty permitted him so to do. But, when he once determined that resistance to his unlawful attempts was absolutely necessary, he acted with all the resolution, steadiness, and spirit which became his station and his character. In the whole affair of the petition of the seven bishops, in which he was the leader both in advising and in acting, and in the subsequent interviews of the bishops with the king respecting the invasion of the kingdom by the Prince of Orange, his whole conduct was firm, temperate, and respectful towards his sovereign; evincing his full determination not to recede from the line of duty, and at the same time his great reluctance to oppose, in a quarter where he was desirous only of obeying.

In the part which he took, at and subsequently to the Revolution, however questionable some particulars of his conduct may be, we perceive, beyond all possibility of doubt, the same triumph of conscientious principle over every worldly consideration, and over every inferior motive of action. In refusing his assent to the exclusion of the abdicated monarch from the throne, many powerful feelings must have impelled him to a contrary decision. Attachment to the Protestant Church was known to be a master principle in his mind. No one could have been more convinced than he was, of the fixed and gloomy bigotry of James, of the general insincerity of his character, of his fixed design to establish Popery in his kingdom, and of the impossibility of relying on his promises and assertions. Thus he must have felt, as strongly as any one could do, the evils connected with retaining that monarch on the throne; but still, from the conviction that his right to that throne was indefeasible, he would not consent to his exclusion.

With this impression on his mind, to transfer his allegiance to another, was to involve himself in the guilt of perjury; and he shrunk from so doing, with the feeling natural to a religious and upright mind. "He chose rather," says Mr. Nelson, "to be deprived of all his honours and revenues than to violate his conscience, or stain the purity of those principles which he had uniformly defended."

The great point which has been urged against him, and which strikes every one at first sight in considering the course which he pursued, is the seeming want of consistency in first promoting the measures in opposition to James, which led to the Revolution, and then disapproving the result. On this subject, some discussion has already taken place*. The real objection to the line of conduct which he adopted does not apply to his want of consistency, for he appears to have maintained to the last the very same views with which he set out, but to his want of discernment in not rightly apprehending the consequences of the measures in which he joined, and in expecting from them a result different from that to which they naturally and directly tended.

There is every reason to suppose that he never intended or contemplated the expulsion of James from the throne. His object manifestly was to procure the assembling of a free parliament which might put a stop to the arbitrary and illegal measures of that sovereign, free him from the entanglement of evil counsels, and place the civil and religious liberties of the country on a firm footing of security. He saw, as the result of his experience of James's character, that there was no hope of attaining this object without some open resistance to his measures; and therefore it was that he stood up himself as the opposer of that sovereign, and that he acquiesced in the invasion of the kingdom by the Prince of Orange: for, although he did not concur directly or indirectly in inviting the prince, yet, by refusing to express his disapprobation of his design, he must certainly be considered as having acquiesced in that measure. But, beyond this design of constraining James to alter his course of government, he was

* See Chapter X.

never prepared to advance. Here was the point at which he made his firm and immovable stand. In moving up to this point, he actively concurred with others; but nothing could induce him to advance a single step beyond it*. Thus, as the end which he designed to attain was never changed, and the means in which he concurred bore uniformly towards that end and no other, he seems clearly not to be liable to the charge of inconsistency, whether that charge be applied to the end pursued or to the means employed.

But it is by no means equally easy to justify his discernment, when he so mistook the signs of the times as to expect that matters could stop short according to his views, and that the nation could be satisfied, after the struggle they were going through, with leaving, under any circumstances, the sovereign power in the hands of James. After the full experience that had now been afforded of his infatuated bigotry, no rational hope remained that he would ever desist from his designs, as long as he should remain invested with power to carry them on. In consequence, his expulsion from the throne was a direct intended object with many who favoured the design of the Prince of Orange; by more, was foreseen as a probable result of that expedition: and it certainly argued a degree of blindness to consequences in the archbishop and others who agreed with him, when concurring, as they did, in the measures themselves, they discerned not beforehand those results to which those measures were manifestly leading.

It has already been remarked† that, in declining to take any part in the great measure of settling the government, a measure which demanded all the strength of the counsels of the nation, and in which a person of the archbishop's high character and eminent

* In the *Vindication of Archbishop Sancroft and his Brethren*, published in 1718, it is remarked, probably with justice as far as the archbishop is concerned, that while, in the Guildhall Declaration, the last public act in which he joined, there is no offer whatever of the supreme power to the Prince of Orange; the declaration of readiness

to assist him in calling a free parliament, was made with a due reserve of their allegiance to King James, and on the faith of the prince's assurances that he had no design of removing the king, or getting possession of the government.

† See p. 261.

station was especially called upon to assist, he must be considered, even under the most favourable view of his conduct, as very deficient in the energy and decision which became him; and here indeed seems to be the blot upon his character as a public man which it is least easy to wipe off. Still it may perhaps be deemed, in the event of things, a fortunate circumstance that he did follow this course. For the addition of his name and authority to the party adverse to the establishment of a Protestant succession would probably have turned the balance in the House of Peers against the decision of the Commons. Thus either a prolonged disagreement would have taken place between these two branches of the legislature: or else a decision might have been adopted favourable to the eventual resumption of the sovereignty by James; which would in fact have been, to leave the nation to the probable risk of another struggle for its religious and civil liberties.

That after the Revolution, Archbishop Sancroft betrayed some indecision and weakness on inferior points, while on the great matter of refusing to act against his conscience, he remained ever most firm and steadfast; that he showed some fractiousness of temper in retaining possession of Lambeth Palace, without any possible advantage, till he was ejected by law; and that he departed from all sound views when he provided for the establishment of a permanent schism in the Church, must be allowed by those who are most partial to his memory. Much may be said in extenuation, no doubt, from the natural effect of an adverse course of events, and of bodily infirmity, on a mind which had then lost something of its vigorous tone, and thereby become more exposed to the influence of others. But, after all, it must not be disguised that these are partial shades and blemishes in a character which, taken as a whole, presents most powerful claims on our admiration and esteem.

And indeed the general excellencies and virtues of his character were such as would fully make atonement, in the opinion of every candid judge, for much greater errors and imperfections than those which persons most adverse to his memory have ever charged upon him. His piety, as the history of his whole life has

evinced, did not consist merely in the regularity of devotional exercise, but was evinced in the influence produced on his feelings and conduct, in his resigned acquiescence under all the dispensations of Providence, in the subjugation of all inordinate worldly passions and desires, in the ardour and animation of his Christian hopes, in the even and cheerful serenity of his mind under disappointment and privation. Such being the disposition of his mind we do not, even in the earlier part of his life, find him a restless and ambitious seeker after worldly emoluments and distinctions, eager to attain successive steps of advancement, and jealous of those whose interests clashed with his, or who rivalled him in his career: but we rather see him shrinking from those honours which the good opinion of others forced upon him: and after he was invested with them, bearing them with meekness and humility; less rejoiced at obtaining what so many others coveted, than fearful and anxious lest he should fail in properly performing the great duties to which he was called. By some persons unfriendly to his memory it has been said that he was a gloomy ascetic. Bishop Burnet has even thought proper to call him "a man of monastic strictness and abstraction from the world, dry, peevish, and reserved, so that none loved him, and few esteemed him*." If by the monastic strictness imputed to him, it be merely meant that he was simple in all his habits and modes of living, restrained and moderate in his desires, and exact in the duties of devotion, it will not, and it need not, be pretended that the appellation is wrongly applied to him. But if it be further meant by the expression, that his religious feelings were of a gloomy cast, that he made a merit in practising mortifications and self-denial, that he was an enemy to the innocent pleasures of life, and that his own turn of mind was morose and melancholy; it may safely be asserted, that not only is there nothing known respecting his private habits of life which justifies the imputation, but that all, which we do know respecting him, proves the very reverse to have been the fact. Especially in his private letters to his friends, which afford the best picture of the state of his mind at the season of retirement, we uniformly

* BURNET'S *Own Times*, v. i. p. 392.

perceive a cheerful course of thought, without the smallest tincture of sour or morose feeling, a disposition to be pleased with everything around him, and to view passing events in a favourable light, in short, everything the most remote from gloominess of temper and spirit. As to Burnet's assertion, that none loved him and few esteemed him, the reader must judge, from all that has appeared respecting him, whether the very reverse was not the truth; that all who knew him warmly loved him; and that, with very few exceptions, even those who most differed from him in opinion, honoured and esteemed him.

Among the more striking features of his character may be remarked a peculiar kindness and tenderness of feeling, displayed at all periods of his life towards his relations and more intimate friends, and especially evinced, in his latter days, in his behaviour towards those who differed from him in opinion. Firm and resolute as he was in his own decision, pure as were his own motives of action, he appears ever to have felt that credit was to be allowed to others for motives equally pure. We find him therefore continuing his kind and friendly disposition towards those from whom he differed most, candidly making all allowance for the uprightness of their intentions, and not suffering the variance of their opinions from his to become a ground of unsocial animosity or unfriendly feeling towards them.

His liberality in affording relief to his friends in distress, at an early period of his life, when his own means were far from affluent, has already been mentioned*. In the elevated station to which he was afterwards raised, he ever showed himself the munificent encourager of great and useful undertakings. His splendid contributions towards the expense of erecting St. Paul's cathedral have been before noticed. Another striking instance of his liberality is afforded in a donation 1,000*l.* in 1680, in aid of the building of Chelsea College. By Emanuel College, the place of his education, and of his residence in the earlier parts of life, his bounty was largely and frequently experienced: in addition to smaller donations made at sundry times, he gave nearly 600*l.* towards the erection and furnishing of a new chapel. He further annexed to the college the advowson of his native

* See p. 59.

parish of Fresingfield, purchased by him for that purpose; and, at his death, he bequeathed to that college the bulk of his valuable collection of books, valued at 2,500*l* *.

Amidst these splendid instances of his public liberality, it will not be doubted that his private benevolence was largely exercised, although, from his not having courted the public eye, it lives in no records to claim the encomiums of posterity. Bishop Burnet has thrown out the insinuation that he was busily employed in amassing a private fortune for his relations; and both he† and Dr. Birch‡, the biographer of Archbishop Tillotson, have stated it as a fact, that he actually did raise a large estate out of the archiepiscopal revenues. There is the fullest reason to believe that both the insinuation, and the statement of the fact, are without foundation. Among the records of his family no traces are to be found of his having purchased any private estate, or left behind him what can in any just sense be called a fortune. The sum, which, as we have seen, he expended in erecting for himself a small dwelling after his retirement, and the property accumulated in books and furniture, seem to have constituted the whole or the greater part of what he amassed from the see. It is cer-

* It has been already stated that the archbishop, within a short period of his death, sent to Mr. Needham to desire him to remove the portion of his library which he had left in a warehouse at Lambeth, to Emanuel College. From the books which he carried with him to Fresingfield, he appears to have made a reserve for his heirs of those which were suited to the reading of a private gentleman, and to have destined the rest for the college. His MS. papers also he destined for the same quarter, with the exception of such as Mr. Wharton wished to retain. It appears, however, that his executors were backward in fulfilling his intentions. Mr. Wharton found some difficulty in obtaining even those papers which were necessary for his publication of LAUD's *Diary*; and it seems certain that none of the remaining MSS., or of the books from Fresing-

field, ever found their way to Emanuel College. See an interesting letter on this subject from Mr. Needham, Archbishop Sancroft's chaplain, given at the end of this chapter. It is stated that Archbishop Sancroft's nephews sold his MS. papers for eighty guineas to Bateman the bookseller; of him they were purchased by Bishop Tanner, and presented to the Bodleian library. See *Anecdotes of British Topography*, p. 58.

† Burnet endeavours to deprive him of all merit in giving up his high station for the sake of his conscience, by saying that "his deprivation was probably a matter of no great mortification to him, as he had raised an estate in the see of Canterbury, which was probably more than sufficient for one of his retired disposition."

‡ See BIRCH's *Life of Tillotson*, p. 346.

tainly true that, as his personal desires were most moderate, so his own individual expenses must have been small; but there is no ground whatever for supposing that he contracted his private habits of life from avaricious motives. On the contrary, all accounts state that he maintained the hospitalities of his high station with the liberality and dignity which became him*. It cannot, indeed, be allowed that he would have been justly liable to censure, if, after satisfying the just claims which his station imposed upon him, he had been enabled to save some portion of the revenues which he long enjoyed, to benefit his family. But still the fact appears to have been the reverse; he neither actually saved a fortune, nor husbanded his resources with the view of saving; and, when he retired from the see to a private station, he appears to have been well nigh reduced to the sum of fifty pounds a-year, his paternal inheritance, on which, on the first prospect of the change, he declared that he could contentedly live.

Of his zealous attention to the various duties of his elevated station, we have had ample evidence in the narrative of his life; but there is one circumstance to which we have not sufficiently adverted: namely, his unsolicited encouragement and patronage, on several occasions, of eminent and learned men. It has already been stated that he appointed Mr. Henry Wharton his domestic chaplain†, and distinguished him by preferments, entirely on

* Bevil Higgons, in his remarks on Burnet's character of Sancroft, in *A Short View of English History*, says, "the poor of Lambeth were almost maintained by the munificent charities of Sheldon and Sancroft, daily allowances being provided for them."

† Among his other domestic chaplains during his occupation of the primacy, were persons of considerable eminence. The following is a list of all those, in addition to Mr. Wharton, whose names are recorded as having held this situation under him.

Dr. John Batteley.—In 1684, he was Rector of Adisham, in Kent, afterwards Archdeacon and Prebendary of Canterbury. He was formerly

fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. He wrote *Antiquitates Rutupinae*, being an inquiry into the ancient state of the Isle of Thanet, published after his death, in 1811, by Dr. Thomas Terry. He also left an unfinished work on the antiquities of his native town, Bury. His editor says of him, that he was "tūm in Græcis Latinisque literis, tūm in recentioribus antiquitatis omnimodæ scriptoribus versatissimus,—theologus consummatissimas, et concionator creber, ardens, facundus." His brother published the *Antiquities of Canterbury*.

Henry Maurice.—He was collated in 1685 to the rectory of Cheveuing, in

account of his vast learning and general merits. On similar grounds, he appointed, at the recommendation of Isaac Vossius, then canon of Windsor, the celebrated Paul Colomesius* to the office of his librarian. But the individual who reflects the highest credit on his patronage is that eminent defender of the true Christian faith, Dr. George Bull, afterwards Bishop of St. David's. The archbishop collated him, in June, 1686, to the Archdeaconry of Llandaff, "entirely," as Mr. Nelson, the biographer of Bishop Bull, states†, "in consideration of the great and eminent services he had rendered to the Church of God by his learned and judicious works."—"The manner of Mr. Bull's receiving the preferment," Mr. Nelson proceeds, in a well-merited panegyric on the bestower of it, "added very much to his reputation, because it was conferred on him by an archbishop who had a particular regard to the merits of those he advanced, without any solicitation or application; and, indeed, what could be expected less from so venerable a prelate, who had all those great abilities of learning and wisdom, of piety and integrity, joined with a prudent zeal for the honour of God and the welfare of the Church, which qualified him for that eminent station in which the providence of God had placed him; and yet at the same time was endued with large measures of mortification and self-denial, contempt of the world, and passive courage."

On the whole, Archbishop Sancroft was greatly eminent in his generation for the manner in which he fulfilled all the public and private duties of life. The various excellencies and virtues

Kent, and afterwards obtained other preferments. He wrote several sermons and other pieces.

William Needham, fellow of Emanuel College.—In 1689 he was appointed by Archbishop Sancroft to the Chancellorship of St. David's, and was also Rector of Alresford, Hants. George Thorpe, also fellow of Emanuel.—He was collated to the rectories of Bishopsbourne and Ickham, in East Kent; was afterwards Archdeacon and Prebendary of Canterbury.

Charles Trumbull, Rector of Stisted,

in Essex, and afterwards of Hadleigh, in Suffolk.—He was deprived for not taking the oaths to King William. See Addenda to DUCARIEL's *History of Lambeth Palace*, by Rev. SAMUEL DENNE, p. 224.

* This was a learned French Protestant who settled in England. He was collated by Archbishop Sancroft to the living of Eynsford, in Kent; continued to be his librarian till his deprivation, and died in 1692.

† See NELSON's *Life of Bishop Bull*, p. 354.

which adorned his character, are sufficient to claim for him the tribute of admiration from posterity in general; but by the Protestant members of the Church of England, his name must ever be especially cherished with grateful recollection, for the noble stand which he made, in the hour of trial, in defence of the religious and civil liberties of the country; a stand to which the preservation of that goodly fabric in Church and State, which they inherit from their forefathers, is principally to be attributed.

At the close of the life of Archbishop Sancroft, it is thought expedient to publish the letter, already alluded to* (p. 326), from Mr. Needham, Archbishop Sancroft's chaplain, to his brother, a fellow of Emanuel College, written about a month after the archbishop's death. It affords some interesting particulars respecting the archbishop's intentions in disposing of his property; and shows that Mr. Needham suspected at that early period the painful fact which eventually proved to be the case, that the executors were not disposed to fulfil the declared intentions of their lord, further than they could be compelled by law.

Alresford, St. Stephen's Day, 1693.

“——— That my Lord's Grace went to heaven before he had actually made the intended division of his library, I do not at all wonder, considering the nature of his distemper, which daily flattered him with no unlikely expectations of recovering so much strength, as might enable him to have his eye at least, if not his hand too, in that sort of scholar-like toil, in which he always exceedingly delighted. Besides, having so frequently and fully, (as I conceived,) declared his intention, and having an entire confidence in the integrity of his nephews, he might, perhaps, after my leaving him, become less solicitous about it. But if, through such an omission, there should be any considerable diminution of his Grace's benefaction to the college, it must

* See note at p. 326. The letter exists in the British Museum. See Ayscough's Catalogue, 4223. 130.

needs be with manifest injury to his glorious memory, and a direct opposition to his known intentions.

“Soon after his Grace’s decease, Mr. Green gave me an account of it, and of the difficulties he apprehended, in acting pursuant to what my most honoured Lord had designed. I immediately wrote back to encourage him, and to remind him of what I knew to be his Grace’s intention, (and what, I presume, he also knew as well as myself,) persuading him, as earnestly as I could, to have no other regard in that affair, but what especially answered my Lord’s bountiful and generous designs; that, in this, he would have the greatest satisfaction, it being, (as I thought,) a direct duty owing from him to our common patron and benefactor. And I persuade myself he will not at all deviate from it, if the executors call him to it, in whose power, and at whose discretion, I fear, that affair remains to be managed. I wrote to him the sum of what I remembered his Grace was pleased to discourse to me; viz., that at length he had determined where to bestow his books, which was, the college; that, as for all those which were at Lambeth, he desired they should be speedily put into that society’s possession, (and I do not know that he ever took any service I have been able to pay him more kindly than the journey I took to London on that occasion,) which was done accordingly. At my return, with an account of their being lodged safely in your college, and delivering the Master’s letter of thanks to him, he was exceedingly pleased; as much, I am sure, with the thoughts of their being so kindly entertained by you, as you could be with the sense of his bounty and affection.

“During my stay there, he more than once repeated, what he had told me before he despatched me to London, concerning his intentions, as to that part of his books at Fresingfield; viz., that he intended part of them to be left for the use of the family there, enough to be a good library for a gentleman; but that the books of learning should be for your college. By which I understood his meaning was, that so much of history, geography, and of the arts, as the heir of that family might be supposed to be inclined to, were the sort he intended for that place. And, in particular, I remember he said, he would stock them well with practical divinity, but would be more sparing as to controversy. By which

(as indeed by all he said) it seemed very plain to me, that he meant not to leave there a library for a scholar or a divine, but for an ingenious and well-inclined heir to an estate. And this, I conceive, both his nephews, Mr. Green, Mr. Sheppard, and Mr. Nicolls, cannot be strangers to. For his Grace made these matters no secret, and I do not remember that he ever discoursed me alone about them, more than once, during my last attendance upon him, it being his manner to have his friends about his bed (if they were within call) when he expressed himself as to this concern. And I ever took it as an unquestionable declaration of his Grace's design, that all his books, (save only such sorts, and fit for such an use, as I before mentioned,) should be given to the college, there to be kept entirely together, as a monument of his Grace's great affection to learning, and of that delight which he took in it himself, during his whole life: he being (as he was pleased to tell me expressly,) very unwilling to have that library dissipated, the collecting of which had been one of the great comforts and pleasures of his life. It was the having them thus kept entirely together, which inclined his thoughts towards building on your ground. And, therefore, should his library be mutilated and maimed of any considerable number of learned, critical, classical, or theological books, before it come to you, I am sure it must grieve his most learned and generous soul, if it be at all capable of any such impressions.

"And, as to his MSS., he was pleased to declare, that, he not having got them into that order he designed, they were his chiefest care and concern he had in this world not yet fixed as he could wish. He seemed to hope for strength enough to review them, and order them himself; and did not, (as I remember,) name any person to whom he would commit that trust, in case himself were prevented by death. Yet thus much he told me, that such of his papers as related to general learning, copies of records, and extracts, (of which he had many,) and transcripts of pieces which were scarce and curious, which he had got together when he travelled, should all go to the college. And, for the rest, I do not remember that he declared his intentions. This was in September, whilst I was with him. But, before the end of the next month, Mr. Wharton went to pay his duty. And I

remember, when I met him at London, in his way towards Norfolk and Suffolk, he told me, (upon my relating to him what I now tell you concerning his Grace's MSS.,) that his Grace had heretofore told him, that they should all be left to him : and then his Grace gave him a great many of his papers of great concern and value (as he wrote to me) and ordered him to return to him again at a month's end, if he heard he lived so long ; which accordingly he did : and then (as he wrote in the letter which acquainted me with his Grace's death) my Lord carried him to see his papers, bidding him take away at that time what he would of them, promising to leave orders that, after his death, he should have whatever he desired. This was a full and unquestionable declaration as to his MSS., and the good man was so confident of the effect of it (this being but two days, if I reckon right, before his Grace's translation, for so I must call his departure from us,) as to content himself with looking perfunctorily over them, and taking away with him only a few of them at that time.

"It grieves me to tell you that he quickly found his error ; it being now made a question whether he shall have them or not ; there being no orders left (as is alleged) for disposing of them that way.

"This, I confess, has an ill glance on your affairs. Yet I cannot but hope all will succeed well, though a generous and public spirit (such as our most honoured Lord's was,) is a blessing but rarely dispensed to the world ; and, I doubt, never entailed on any family, notwithstanding the fawning flights of panegyrics and epistles dedicatory.

"I have one thing more to tell you, which must be whispered into the ears of your worthy society, and in my opinion (considering what may possibly be the event of it) ought to be reckoned one of your undiscoverable secrets. It is this :—When the world began its storm against his Grace, about seven years since, he actually assigned over all his books to his nephew, (his steward,) and the legal right was in him, then, when you received that part of them which is in your possession. This my Lord never told me till I was last at Fresingfield ; and he was very intent upon having a written instrument, signed by his nephew,

making them over from him to me, for the use and benefit of our college. Clerks were not at hand: but I drew up one, and his Grace was pleased to contrive another form; and we were once at work to finish one, out of both, which might come up to that exactness and extent of expression which his Grace always used. But this seeming to be owing only to an opinion that Mr. March, of Lambeth, (with whom the steward had lodged the books,) would not readily deliver the books to me, without such a writing; and the wording it so nicely, as my Lord seemed to wish, being somewhat troublesome to him, in that weak condition in which he then was, the steward interposed, assuring us that the books would be forthwith delivered to me, upon any short note under his hand, which he gave me accordingly, and it had its effect.

“Now this, I conceive, gives you title enough to what you are already possessed of. But, if confidence in his executors, or other accident of his sickness, has prevented his Grace from revoking that assignment, I fear a common lawyer would give you but very slender hopes, if ever you should call in his assistance, to recover by law, what was really designed to be yours without your expending one farthing upon it. And, if zeal to fulfil my Lord Grace’s will take its steps forward or backwards only according to lines figured upon paper or parchment in form of law, I should fear greatly for the college’s interest, and the honour of his Grace’s family. But I will hope more comfortably: and I tell you this only to give you aim as to that sort of address and management towards the executors, which you know very well to judge of, in such circumstances as these, which do not give so fast hold of the remaining part of the library, as yourselves, and, I am sure, our most honoured patron and benefactor, would have wished you to have.

“As to the structure, which his Grace designed for the books, I do not know that he came to any fixed resolution about it; neither had he laid aside the thoughts of it, when I received his last blessing; his mind still running on a new fabric, though of less dimensions than the ground which was measured by his first command to me. It was, I think, that very morning I left him, that he caused me to be let into his study, (all his books being

then placed together in that one room, great part of which he had formerly shown me in two garrets,) that I might view them, and give him my opinion, whether that share, which I judged would come to the college, would crowd your library too full, if there were new shelves put up under the windows, and half classes erected betwixt the whole ones. I told him I thought they might stand so not inconveniently; but he still took time to consider, whether it should be so, or a new fabric; and I have heard nothing further since that time."

A P P E N D I X.

OCCASIONAL

S E R M O N S,

PREACHED BY THE MOST REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,

WILLIAM SANCROFT,

LATE LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

A SERMON

PREACHED IN ST PETER'S, WESTMINSTER,

ON THE FIRST SUNDAY IN ADVENT,

AT THE

CONSECRATION

OF

THE RIGHT REVEREND FATHERS IN GOD,

JOHN (COSIN), Lord Bishop of DURHAM;

WILLIAM (LUCY), Lord Bishop of St. DAVID'S;

BENJAMIN (LANEY), Lord Bishop of PETERBOROUGH;

HUGH (LLOYD), Lord Bishop of LANDAFF;

RICHARD (STERN), Lord Bishop of CARLISLE;

BRIAN (WALTON), Lord Bishop of CHESTER; and

JOHN (GAUDEN), Lord Bishop of EXETER.

REVERENDO
 IN CHRISTO PATRI, AC DOMINO,
 DOMINO JOHANNI,
 EPISCOPO DUNELMENSIS,
 EOQUE NOMINE JURA HABENTI COMITIS PALATINI,
 SACRÆ THEOLOGIÆ PROFESSORI,
 VETERIS SCRIPTURARUM CANONIS ADSECTORI ET VINDICI,
 ECCLESIAE PETROBURGENSIS EX-DECANO,
 DUNELMENSIS DECANO DESIGNATO, DIU CANONICO,
 JAM ETIAM *Κανόνι*,
 ANGLICANÆ ET FILIO ET PATRI OPTIMO,
 ROMANÆ HODIERNÆ, ET NUPRÆ, OPPUGNATORI STRENUO
 VETERIS ET PRIMITIVÆ, UT
 CATHOLICÆ ADMIRATORI PERPETUO
 ET CULTORI DEVOTISSIMO,
 'Ομοψήφῳ καὶ 'Ομοψύχῳ'
 VIRO,
 QUI, IN UTRIVSQUE FORTUNÆ SEU DURIS, SEU LUBRICIS,
 EODEM ANIMI TENORE USUS,
 NONDUM PAR ANIMO PERICULUM INVENIT:
 CUI, BONÆ, MALEQUE FAMÆ MEDIO PERGENTI,
 NEC AB EA, QUAM FIXERAT ECCLESIA,
 VERITATIS LINEA RECEDENTI USPIAM,
 (UTPOTE NEC HUIUS CONVITIIS TERRITO, NEC ILLIUS
 ILLECEBRIS DELINITO;)
 UBIQUE SUI SIMILI, UNDIQUE *Τετραγώνῳ*,
 CESSIT TANDEM CALUMNIA,
 NON VICTA SOLUM, SED ET TRIUMPHATA,
 ET, QUANTUMVIS GARRULA, OBMUTUIT:
 HANC CONCIUNCULAM,
 EJUS JUSSU CONCEPTAM, NATAM AUSPICIIS,
 HORTATU, ET MANDATO IN LUCEM EDITAM*,
 PERPETUÆ OBSERVANTIÆ PIGNUS, et *Μνημόσυνον*,
 L. MQ. D. D. CQ.
 GUILHELMUS SANCROFT,
 PRESBYTER INDIGNUS,
 PATERNITATI EJUS A SACRIS.

Ne his quidē omīssis, quæ, præ fuga temporis, viva vox exequi non potuit.

CONSECRATION SERMON.

Τούτου χάριν κατελιπόν σε ἐν Κρήτῃ, ἵνα τὰ λείποντα ἐπίδιορθώσῃ, καὶ καταστήσῃ κατὰ πόλιν πρεσβυτέρους, ὡς ἐγὼ σοι διαταξάμην.

For this cause left I thee in Crete, that thou shouldest set in order the things that are wanting, and ordain elders in every city, as I had appointed thee.

Titus i. 5.

THIS epistle is one of the three, not unfitly styled the hierarchical epistles, *de statu ecclesiastico compositæ*, as Tertullian¹ speaks: being so many rescripts apostolical to Timothy and Titus, (the one desired by St. Paul to stay at Ephesus, primate of Asia; the other left in Crete, metropolitan of that² and the neighbour islands;) directing them³ how they ought to behave themselves in the house of God, which is the church of the living God. True and genuine decretal epistles; not like that counterfeit ware, which Isidore Mercator⁴, under venerable names, hath had the hardiness to obtrude upon the world; but of the right stamp and alloy; and such as St. Augustine saith⁵ a bishop ought always to carry in his hand, and to have before his eyes.

The verse I have read to you, following immediately upon the salutation, begins the body of the epistle itself; and, like an ingenious and well-contrived perspective, gives us, from the very front, a fair prospect into the contents of the whole. It is, as it were, a kind of magical glass; in which the man, not blind with ignorance, nor bleared with passion, may see distinctly the face of the primitive church, in that golden age of the apostles; the platform of her government; the beautiful order of her hierarchy; the original, and derivation of her chief officers, and their subordination both to one another, and to Christ, the great bishop of

¹ *Adv. Marcion.* l. 5. in fine.

² Vide S. ILLERON. in *Catal. Script. Eccles.*

³ 1 Tim. iii. 15.

⁴ Vide D. BLONDELLI *Pseudo Isidor.*

⁵ *De Doct. Christian.* l. 4. c. 16.

our souls¹, in the last resort; together with the manage and direction of the most important acts of the government, both in point of ordination and jurisdiction too. For here we have *Πρεσβυτέρους κατὰ πόλιν*, elders, that is, bishops, (as shall be showed in due time) disposed of city by city, in every city one; these bishops both ordained and ordered, constituted and corrected, created and governed by Titus alone; and so he, in right of the premises, no other than metropolitan², or archbishop there; the angel, or the archangel rather, of the whole church of Crete. If you ask, who fixed him the intelligence of so large an orb? It was Paul himself, (you have that too in the text,) *For this cause left I thee in Crete*. If yet higher, your curiosity will needs see the derivation of St. Paul's power too; he opens his commission, verse 1, and spreads it before you, styling himself a servant of God, and an apostle of Jesus Christ: one sent abroad into the world by his commission, acted, and assisted by his Spirit, to plant, and to govern churches after this scheme and model. So that my text, like Homer's symbolical chain³, consists, you see, of many links; but the highest is tied to the foot of Jupiter's throne: or rather, like Jacob's mysterious ladder, the foot of it stands below in Bethel, the house of God⁴, *Ἡ δὲ κεφαλὴ εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν*, the head of it is in heaven, and God himself stands at the top of it, and leans⁵ upon it, and keeps it firm; angels ascending and descending upon it in the intermediate degrees; the bishops of the church, likè those blessed ministering spirits, incessantly bringing down the commands of God to the church in their doctrine, and carrying up the prayers of the church before God's throne, in their holy offices and intercessions. So that, you see, this holy oil⁶ which without measure was shed upon the head of our great High Priest⁷ (all power being given to Him, both in heaven and earth,) runs down in full stream upon the beard, (for, As my Father sent me, saith he to his disciples, even so send I you⁸;) and so by, and through them, to

¹ 1 Pet. ii. 25.

² Vide REVEREND. ARMACHAN. de *Orig. Metropolis*, p. 71, 72.

³ Il. O.

⁴ Gen. xviii. 12. *Versic. LXX.*

⁵ *Ib.* v. 13, *Vulg.* Et Dominum innixum scalæ.—LXX. *Ἐπεστήρικτο ἐπ' αὐτῆς.*

⁶ Psm. cxxxii. 2.

⁷ Matt. xxviii. 18. ⁸ John xx. 21.

their successors, holy bishops and presbyters, even down to the skirts of his garment: for in this comely and exquisite order we find it in my text—*For this cause I* (Paul, an apostle of Jesus Christ,) *left thee* (Titus) *in Crete, that thou shouldest set in order* (or, correct,) *the things that are wanting, and ordain elders in every city, as I had appointed thee.*

In which words we have these three parts:—

First.—The erection of a power in the person of Titus, a metropolitcal power over the whole island of Crete; *I left thee in Crete.*

Secondly.—The end of this institution, or the use and exercise of this power, in a double instance, ἐπιδιορθοῦν, καὶ καθιστάναι, to order, and to ordain; to correct and constitute; to make bishops, and govern them, *Κρίσις καὶ χειροτονία*¹, as the Greek Scholia have it: “For this cause—that thou shouldest set in order what was wanting, and ordain elders in every city.”

Thirdly.—The limitation of all to apostolical prescript and direction; both ordination and jurisdiction too, the whole office must be managed, Ὡς ἐγὼ σοι διατετάμην, as I had appointed thee. These are the parts.

Of which that I may so speak, and you so hear, and all of us so remember, and so practise, that God’s holy name may be glorified, and we all built up in the knowledge of that truth, which is according unto godliness; we beseech God the Father, in the name of his Son Jesus Christ, to give us the assistance of his Holy Spirit.

And in these, and all other our supplications, let us always remember to pray for Christ’s holy Catholic Church, *i. e.*, for the whole congregation of Christian people, dispersed through the whole world; that it would please Almighty God to purge out of it all schism, error, and heresy, and to unite all Christians in one holy bond of faith and charity; that so at length the happy day may draw upon us, in which all that do confess his holy name, may agree in the truth of his holy word, and live in unity and godly love. More especially let us pray for the churches of England, Scotland, and Ireland: that the God of Peace, who maketh men to be of one mind in a house, would

¹ THEOPHYL. in Hypoth.

make us all of one soul, and of one spirit, that again we may meet together, and praise Him with one heart and mouth, and worship Him with one accord in the beauty of holiness. To this end, I am to require you most especially to pray for the King's most excellent Majesty, our sovereign lord Charles, by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and supreme governor of these his realms, and in all other his dominions and countries, over all persons, in all causes, as well ecclesiastical as temporal: that God would establish his throne in righteousness, and his seed to all generations. Also for our gracious Lady Mary, the queen-mother; for the most illustrious Prince James, duke of York; and for the whole royal family: that God would take them all into his care, and make them the instruments of his glory, and the good and welfare of these nations. Further, let us pray for the ministers of God's holy word and sacraments, as well archbishops and bishops, as other pastors and curates; for the lords and others of his majesty's most honourable council; and for all the nobility and magistrates of the realm: that all and every of these, in their several callings, may serve truly and painfully to the glory of God, and the edifying, and the well governing of his people, remembering the account that they must make. Let us also pray for the universities of this land, Cambridge and Oxford: that God would water them with his grace, and still continue them the nurseries of religion and learning to the whole land. Let us pray for the whole Commons of this realm: that remembering at last from whence they are fallen, they may repent, and do the first works, living henceforth in faith and fear of God, in humble obedience to their king, and in brotherly charity one to another. Finally, let us praise God for all those that are already departed out of this life in the faith of Christ, and pray unto God we may have grace to direct our lives after their good examples; that, this life ended, we may be made partakers with them of the glorious resurrection in the life everlasting. For which, and for all other needful blessings, let us say together the prayer of our Lord, who hath taught us to say, Our Father, &c.

For this cause I left thee in Crete, &c.

The erecting of the power, that is the first; *I left thee in Crete*. Where we have these particulars: the original of this power, in *ego*; the subject of it, in *te, ego te*; the conveyance in *ego reliqui*; and the extent, in *reliqui Cretæ*, or in *Creta*.

I. *I left thee*; I, the apostle of Jesus Christ, (ver. 1,) left thee mine: there is the source, and the stream; the original and the derivation of all; it was from our Lord, by his apostle: I did it, his commissioner.

(1.) And therefore, first, not a suffragan of St. Peter, as some of the Romish partisans would fain have it¹; who, to serve the over-high pretences of that court, are not content to dogmatise, that St. Peter was the prince and sovereign of the apostles, and his very successors superior to the apostles that survived him; and that, they being once all dead, there was never since any power in the church, but in succession to him, and by derivation from him; dare yet higher, and with strange confidence pronounce, that the apostles themselves were all ordained by St. Peter, and he alone by Christ: and that, when the Holy Ghost said², Separate me Barnabas and Saul, for the work whereunto I have called them: they were thereupon sent up to Jerusalem, to be ordained by St. Peter. Affirmations so very strange, that I know not what can be more; unless this be, that they should think them passable with us, upon the authority of Petrus Comester³, the scholastic historian, and those suspected decretals⁴ of the false merchant I mentioned at the beginning. Whereas, for the imposition of hands upon Barnabas and Saul, (were it a blessing, or were it an ordination⁵) it is plainly inferred, ver. 3, to have been performed upon the place by the persons mentioned, verse 1. And St. Paul, for his particular, in the front of every epistle, enters his protestation against all this, as if he had foreseen it; still qualifying himself an apostle of Jesus Christ by the will of God⁶; an apostle, not of men, nor by man⁷, but by the

¹ SAUR. *adv. Sect. Angl.* l. 3, c. 12.
f. BELLARM. *de R. Pont.* l. 1, c. 11, f.
c. 23. MAGAL. in 1 Tim. Procam.
sect. 11 et 13.

² Acts xiii. 2.

³ *Hist. Act. Ap.* c. 70.

⁴ Anacleti, Felicis I., Inn. I.

⁵ As our church seems to have determined. See the Exhortation before the Litany in the Consecration of B. B.

⁶ 2 Tim. i. 1.

⁷ Gal. i. 1.

commandment of God our Saviour¹; and accordingly you may see him contesting it to the height, both against Peter and the rest, Gal. i. and ii. throughout,—that the Gospel he preached was not of man, the apostleship he exercised was not from man: but the one by immediate revelation, the other by assignation from heaven itself. So that, having received his mission thence, and his instructions too, he thought it unnecessary to confer with flesh and blood, to apply himself to any mortal man, for the enhancing of either. He went up indeed to Jerusalem to visit Peter three years after his conversion, and yet once again² fourteen years after, he returned thither, and had conference with James, and Cephas, and John; but these pillars added nothing to him; neither established his authority, nor advanced his knowledge: and Titus himself was present at the interview, and so an eye-witness, that in nothing he came behind the very chiefest apostles; for they all gave him the right hand of fellowship, far from exacting the right hand of pre-eminence: and so Paul, an apostle of Jesus Christ, not a deputy of the apostolical college, much less a suffragan of St. Peter, or his legate, *a latere*, as was pretended. But,

(2.) Not a disciple of Gamaliel. For there is a disputer of this world, who having laid it down for a principle with himself (indeed his *πρώτον Ψεύδος*) that all pretence of ecclesiastical power, as from Christ, is but an imposture, is thereupon obliged to give such an account of the appearances of it in the New Testament, as may suit with this postulatum: and accordingly, for the particular of imposition of hands for ordination of elders³, will have it only in pursuance of a Jewish custom, which St. Paul learned at the feet of his master Gamaliel, under whom he commenced elder before he was Christian, and thereupon after thought good to create his own disciples to the same dignity (according to the law of those schools⁴), and Titus among the rest, whom he left in Crete to do the like, and to constitute his scholars elders too, in all the cities where he should preach. A discourse so loose and incoherent, that it is not worth your while to stand by and

¹ 1 Tim. chap. i. vv. 1. 12. 15. 16. 18.
ii. 7.

² Gal. chap. ii. vv. 1. 6. 9.

³ *De Synod.* lib. i. cap. 14, p. 569, &c.

⁴ Page 571. *Unusquisque ritè creatus potest discipulos suos ritè creare.*

see it fall in pieces, which it would quickly do (were it not already done to our hands') upon a gentle examination. I shall only remind you of what was said before upon the former particular, and so leave it in compromise to any indifferent; whether St. Paul, the Apostle of Jesus Christ, who so stoutly refuseth to *releve* of St. Peter himself, or the rest of the apostles, as owing his whole commission to Heaven alone, would yet acknowledge to hold it of R. Gamaliel, the unconverted Jew, as usher of his school, or graduate in a Rabbinical academy.

(3.) (Yet further to vindicate ourselves) *An apostle of Jesus Christ*, not a delegate of the civil magistrate. For Suarez¹, the Spanish Jesuit, that he may have something to confute in the English sect (as he will needs call us,) saith confidently, that the power of order with us is nothing else but a deputation of certain persons by the temporal magistrate, to do those acts which he himself much more might do; made indeed with some kind of ceremonies, but those esteemed arbitrary, and unnecessary to the effect, which would follow as well without them, by the king's sole deputation. A calumny, which the whole business of this day most solemnly refutes: a kind of a second Nag's-head fable, a fil of the same race, both sire and dam, begotten by the father of lies upon a slanderous tongue, and so sent post about the world, to tell false tidings of the English; as credible, as that our kings excommunicate, or Queen Elizabeth preached. Would they have been just, or ingenuous, they should have laid the brat at the physician's door, who was the father of it: not the beloved physician, though his name comes nigh; (Erastus, but not *Ἀγαπητός*;) no, his praise was not in the Gospel, but a physician in Geneva, learned, and eminent enough. It is remarkable that, in the same place, and about the same time (so unlucky an ascendant hath error and mistake upon some persons!) should three conceits be hatched concerning church-government, which like three furies, have vexed the quiet of the church ever since. For the consistorial and congregational pretences were twins of the same birth; though the younger served the elder, and, being much overpowered, sunk in the stream of time, till it appeared

¹ See Dr. H. II. *Letter of Resolut.*, &c. Quer. 5.

² *Advers. Sect. Angl.* lib. 3. cap. 8. num. 12.

again in this unhappy age amongst the ghosts of so many revived errors, that have escaped from their tombs to walk up and down and disturb the world. And not long after, this physician too would needs step out of his own profession, to mistake in two other at once, policy and divinity, running a risk of setting ill understanding betwixt them, had not abler and wiser heads than he stepped in, and so evenly cut the thread, so exactly stated the controversy, and asserted the very due on either side, that there remains now no ground, either of jealousy among friends, or, one would think, of slander from enemies. And yet even some of our own too, (which we have reason more deeply to resent,) would needs bear the world in hand, when time was, that the claim of episcopal power, as from Christ and his apostles, was an assault upon the right of our kings, and tended to the disherison of the crown. As if the calling might not stand by Divine right, and yet the adjuncts and appendages of it by human bounty; as if the office itself might not be from Christ, and yet the exercise of it only by, and under the permission of pious kings: or, as if the church might not owe the keys of the kingdom of Heaven, both that of order and that of jurisdiction too, (purely spiritual, I mean, and without any temporal effect,) to the donation of Christ: and yet, at the same time, owe all their coactive power in the external regimen (which is one of the keys of the kingdoms of this world, for the enforcing of obedience by constraint,) to the political sanction. These things thus clearly distinguished, I cannot see why we may not with some consequence infer the apostolical, and, at least, in consequence thereupon, the divine right of our ecclesiastical hierarchy, how harsh soever it sounds, either at Rome or Geneva; and though the hills about Trent resounded loud with the echo of that noise, and stiff debate, which passed upon that argument within the walls of that council¹. However they like it on this side the hills or beyond, St. Paul stands firmly by us, and voucheth the grand charter of his apostolate for all: *Me me, adsum qui fecit*—It was I, the Apostle of Jesus Christ, that left Titus to ordain elders in Crete; and what *Κρησφύγετον* will be found for this argument? It was the Holy Ghost that made you

¹ Vide *Hist. Concil. Trid.* lib. 7.

bishops, saith the same apostle¹ to the elders at Miletus; so that these are no Milesian fables, but the words of truth and soberness², a part of the Holy and Divine *Πραξαπόστολον*, the real acts and gestic of the apostles of Christ; nay, the act and deed of Christ himself by his apostle, according to that rule of the Hebrews³, *Apostolus, cujusq. est, ut quisque*. And so much for the original of the power.

I go on (II.) to the subject, and that is Titus: *Ego te*, I left thee.

(1.) Thee first, mine host, and of the whole church. For, when the Jews at Corinth⁴ contradicted and blasphemed the doctrine delivered by St. Paul, he shook his raiment, and departed into the house of one Justus⁵, (so we read it after the Greek copies,) one that worshipped God, and dwelt by the Synagogue; and there he abode eighteen months⁶. But the Syriac version saith, it was the house of Titus, (and so St. Chrysostom⁷ seemeth, by his preface to this epistle, to have found it in some copies;) and the Vulgar Latin and Arabic, reconciling both, the house of Titus Justus, or of Titus the son of Justus. If you give credit to this tradition, thus fairly derived, it will return to this lesson—that no man serves God in vain: that none opens the doors of God's house, nor the doors of his own to receive God's church in, that loseth his reward. Obadiah, that secured and fed an hundred prophets in persecution, received a prophet's reward, and (though but a proselyte) was himself made one of the twelve⁸. The house of Obed-Edom the Gittite, and all that pertained to him, was blessed, for the Ark of God's sake, that occasionally turned in thither. And Titus, a Gentile, who received St. Paul into his house, not only gains thereby the lights of faith, and the incomparable advantages of religion; but is himself introduced into the church, which is the house of God, and set amongst the princes there; being singled out to this special honour from amongst the many that attended St. Paul in his journeyings. Hear this, you

¹ Acts xx. 38.

² Acts xxvi. 25.

³ שליו של אדם כמותו *Talm.*
in *Kidduschin*. fol. 41, 2.

⁴ Acts xviii. 6.

⁵ V, 7,

⁶ Acts xviii. 11.

⁷ Οἶμαι δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν τῇ Πράξει
εἶναι μνείαν. Τάχα καὶ Κορίνθιος ἦν εἰ
μή τις ἕτερος ὁμώνυμος αὐτοῦ.

⁸ Vide MUNST. VATABL. et alios in
Obad.

noble and generous souls, who, in this time of calamity, have spread your wings over the persecuted prophets of God, and had a church in your house, when they made a stable of the church. Believe it, God and his church pay their quarters wherever they come, and there is not one of you shall miss of his reward.

2. *Thee*, who wert so exceedingly dear, so highly useful to me, Titus, my brother¹, mine own son after the common faith²; two very endearing titles; and then, so necessary to me, that when I come Troas, to preach Christ's Gospel, and a door was opened unto me of the Lord, I had no rest in my spirit, because I found not Titus my brother; but taking my leave went thence into Macedonia³. Upon which place, with some others⁴, St. Jerome hath founded his conjecture⁵, that Titus was St. Paul's interpreter to the Grecians. For, though the apostle understood the Greek language, and wrote it too elegantly enough, yet there might be something of uncouth and barbarous in his pronounciation, which rendered it not so smooth and passable to a common Greek ear⁶ (which Josephus also, though a spruce Greek writer⁷, complains of, as both his own, and the general infelicity of his nation⁸). But, though Titus was so needful to St. Paul in this, or some such respect, and so dear and precious in many others, yet the apostle most resolvedly leaves him behind in Crete; as he who knew most cheerfully to sacrifice all his own advantages, and the tenderest and inmost of his affections, to the benefit of Christ's Church, and the interest of religion. Let us go, and do likewise.

3. But thirdly and principally; *Thee*, a single person; not a Consistory of Presbyters, or a Bench of Elders. But this observation, together with the next particular, (III.) the extent of this power, as it reacheth the whole island of Crete, I shall have occasion to resume by and by; and so pass on at present.

There is nothing behind of the first part of the text, but

¹ 2 Cor. ii. 13.

² Tit. i. 4.

³ 2 Cor. ii. 12, 13.

⁴ 2 Cor. vii. 6.

⁵ Epist. 150. ad Hedib. qu. 11.

⁶ Divinorum sensuum majestatem digno non poterat Græci eloquii expli-

care sermone. S. Hieron, *ibid.*, vide et Baron., tom. i. ann. 45, n. 32, &c.

⁷ Photius. Καθαρὸς τὴν φράσιν, — καὶ ἐπίχαρις.

⁸ Antiq. l. 20. c. ult. Τὴν δὲ περὶ τὴν προφορὰν ἀκριβείαν πατριος ἐκώλυσε συνήθεια.

(IV.) the conveyance of the power couched, or supposed, in *Ego reliqui, I left thee*. A close conveyance, by a word, in which there may be much more understood than expressed; viz., a derivation, or transmission of power from St. Paul to Titus, enabling him for the discharge of that work he was intrusted with. *Reliquit vice suâ*; as Haymo¹ well. As if St. Paul had said, I left thee in Crete, my deputy, and vicergerent there, to water what I had planted: to build up what I had founded; to perfect what I had begun. I left thee to reside in Crete, (as I besought Timothy to abide at Ephesus, *προσμεῖναι*,) to be resident there, as fixed and ordinary governor of that church, while I went on still to preach the Gospel in other regions, where the name of Christ had not been heard. In fine, for this cause was he left, that he should perform such special acts, (ordain elders and reform what was amiss,) and therefore certainly left commissioned, and authorized after the apostolical guise, to do those acts, viz., by imposition of hands, and episcopal ordination: which is a true gloss, though of a *pseudo Ambrose*², *Titum Apostolus consecravit Episcopum*: and backed by Theophylact, and other amongst the Grecians, *Ἐπίσκοπος τοῦ Κρήτης κεχειροτόνητο*.

But it will best appear what the power was in the conveyance, (and consequently what the conveyance itself,) by taking notice, what it was to be in the exercise of it: and so I go on to the second part of my text, in which we find it designed to a double act,—to order and to ordain; *Ἐπιδιορθοῦν καὶ καθιστάναι*.

1. In the first there will be some variety. For *Ἐπιδιορθοῦν*, being properly to *correct*, or *make straight that which is crooked*³; (not that which is wanting, to that which it seems not to have so just a rapport;) and *τὰ λείποντα*, being, in the next notion, those things which are *wanting* (and, therefore, not so aptly said to be *corrected*, as *supplied* or *added*;) for the according of the terms, I cannot see why the participle may not have as powerful influence upon the verb, (to qualify that,) as that upon the participle; and shall, therefore, make this advantage of the doubt, to take in the consideration of both senses, and suppose that Titus is here

¹ In locum.

² In Titum.

³ Vide SULTETI *Obsr. in Tit.* 1. c. 2.

commissioned, both to supply what was wanting, and to correct what was amiss.

First, *To supply what was wanting.* And then the nerve and emphasis of the verb will lie in the preposition; *Ἐπιδιορθοῦν*, to do something additionally, and by way of supplement to what was done before, but was not sufficient. *Τὰ ἐλλειποντα ἀναπληρῶσαι*, as St. Chrysostom¹, *to fill up the vacuities and defects* that were left, which probably were not a few in Crete, especially a church so lately founded, (but the year before,²) and in which St. Paul stayed so short a time, in which long works could not be brought about. Neither let any church, though of longer continuance, flatter and soothe up itself, with Laodicea³, as if it needed nothing. The ship of the church is never so perfectly rigged, but something may be added. 'Tis seldom, or never, but some pin or other is lacking, even in God's Tabernacle, while it sojourns here below, just as in the material church; 'tis scarce known, but either the roof is open, or the pavement uneven, the windows broken, or some part or other of the wall, mouldering and dropping away: so in the spiritual, either the light is not good, or the walking is not answerable; 'tis well if the foundation stands firm and sinks not; but the superstructions, most commonly, want something that must be supplied. And therefore, methinks, the inference is strong. There is need of a bishop in every church, that must learn his office in his name⁴, and look about him, be *Ὁλος ὀφθαλμός*, (as Isidore Pelusiote appositely); and, like a wise master-builder, have a careful eye, ever awake, upon all parts, to see what is wanting, and to supply it. That is the first.

But secondly, *To correct what is amiss*; things that are faulty and defective, and want something, (*sc.* of their due rectitude and conformity to the rule;) for so perhaps the *Τὰ λείποντα* may signify *Τὰ ἐλλειπή*, and Hesychius⁵ shall warrant me that gloss. Or else *Τὰ λειποτακτοῦντα*, things that leave their rank, and start out of their place; and so to be reduced and set in order

¹ Homil. 1.

² Vide BARON. Ann. 58.

³ Apoc. 3. 17.

⁴ ISID. PELUS. lib. i. Ep. 149. Ἐπισκοπεῖν αὐτὸν χρὴ, καὶ ὅλον, εἶναι ὀφ-

θαλμόν, παντὰ ἐρεῖντα, καὶ μηδὲν παραρῶντα.

⁵ HESYCH. Λειπὸν τὸ ἐλλειπές ἔν. Lege λείπον, et ἐλλειπές.

again. And of this sort also there was but too much in Crete. For, to say nothing of the evil beasts with the nimble tongues, and slow bellies¹, we find also in this chapter Jewish leaven to be purged out, and as some² have thought, gnostic impurity to be resisted, unruly, and vain talkers, and deceivers³, subverters of whole houses; teachers of things they ought not, for filthy lucre's sake⁴; men that profess to know God, but in works deny Him, being abominable, disobedient, and to every good work reprobate⁵. So that, for aught we see, they might well enough deserve the black character the proverb brands them with, amongst the *Τρία Κάκιστα*, the three very infamous nations that began with C⁶, for such a superfluity of naughtiness. St. Paul here designs a proportionate corrective, and sends Titus and his elders amongst them, to bring them into better order, by a threefold instrument, *vita, doctrina, censura*; all in this epistle and in this chapter.

1. *Vita* first, by the *example of his holy life*. In all things showing thyself *Τύπον καλῶν ἔργων*, a pattern of good works⁷. For, as St. Ambrose⁸ excellently, *In episcopo vita formatur omnium*; the life of the prelate is, as it were, a form, or mould, in which the conversation of others is shaped and modelled; or, as Isidore Pelusiot⁹ conceits it, like a *seal well cut*, which stamps the common Christians under his care, as wax, with the like impressions. And therefore St. Paul, who well understood this, twice within two verses of my text, requires it a qualification in a bishop, that he be blameless, *ἀνέγκλητος*¹⁰, one that cannot be accused, which yet innocence itself, you know, may be; nay, but a bishop must be void of suspicion too, as well as crime. Aye, that's the way to set all right indeed; for so fair a copy, placed in so good a light, teacheth itself: and every one that runs by will read it, and strive to write after it.

2. But secondly, *Doctrina*; by *speaking the things that become*

¹ Tit. i. 12.

² Dr. H. HAMMOND in c. 1. 9. 16.

³ V. 10.

⁴ V. 11.

⁵ V. 16.

⁶ Καππαδόκες, Κρήτες, Κίλικες.

⁷ Ch. ii. 7.

⁸ Lib. 10. Epist. 82, ad Eccles. Ver-
cel.

⁹ Lib. i. Epist. 319. Εἰ τύπος ἱερέως
τοῦ ποιμνίου, ἀνάγκη τοῖς ἡθεσιν αὐτοῦ
συνεκτυπούσθαι τὸ ὑπήκοον, ὡς σημαν-
τρη κηρόν.

¹⁰ Inaccusabilis.—CASPETAN.

*sound doctrine*¹. For a bishop must be able both to exhort and to convince the gainsayers²: in doctrine showing uncorruptness, gravity, sincerity, sound speech that cannot be condemned, that he, that is of the contrary part, may be ashamed³, &c.

3. *Censura*, That must not be forgotten, as being chief in the eyes of the text. No; the garden of God must be weeded sometimes, or like the sluggard's vineyard⁴, it will soon be overgrown with nettles and thorns. Even Christ's vine must be pruned too, or it will run out, and spend itself in fruitless luxury. The lamps of the Temple will burn faint and dim, if they be not trimmed, and dressed, and snuffed now and then. And, therefore, though the tables of the Law, and the pot of manna be in the Ark, yet it is not a perfect emblem of the Church, unless the rod of Aaron be there too: and, without jurisdiction and discipline, we shall quickly find the Word and Sacraments will not have so powerful an influence upon a loose and a debauched world. Epiphanius⁵ observes, that Moses was sent into Egypt, *παβδφμόρη*. Some while after, he instituted the Passover, and received the Law, and consecrated Aaron and his sons to the priesthood; but he carried the rod of God with him in his hand. No bringing up the Israel of God out of Egypt without it. And it is that rod, therefore, which St. Paul here puts into Titus's hand, when he bids him correct what is amiss in the text, and rebuke evil doers⁶ sharply and severely, v. 11; and stop the mouths of such as teach what they ought not, v. 13. Nay, and rebuke them⁷ with all authority, not suffering his monitions to be slighted by any: Let no man contemn thee, Ch. 2, v. 15.

Nay, if *corrigas* will not serve the turn, be a word too low; St. Jerome, upon the place, and, after him, Cardinal Cajetan, have added a cubit to its stature, and advanced it into *super-corrigas*, which yet perhaps, arrives not at the full altitude of the Greek. For *ἐπιδιορθοῦν* is a decompound, and if *διορθοῦν*, be to make straight or right, *διορθοῦν* is thoroughly to do it, and

¹ Ch. ii. 1.

² Ch. i. 9.

³ Ch. ii. 7, 8.

⁴ Prov. xxiv. 30, 31.

⁵ *Contra Hæres.* lib. i. c. 1. *Contra Arian.*

⁶ *Ἀποσύμωσ.*

⁷ *Μετὰ πάσης ἐπιταγῆς.*

ἐπιδιόρθοῦν, to do it, not only exactly, but over and over again. St. Chrysostom and St. Jerome¹ both take notice of this emphasis, and state it thus; "That whereas St. Paul had corrected some things, and so far; Titus should go on where he left, and complete what he had begun; bringing them yet to another test, till they came forth, like gold, more than once tried in the furnace."

An hint which will perhaps be too greedily caught at by those to whose advantage it was never intended. A sort of men, that are all for super-corrigas, but it is still on the wrong side, and of that which is not amiss. The reformers of the world, and syndics of all Christendom; men but of yesterday, yet wiser and better than all the fathers, that over-correct, and over-reform everything: correct magnificat itself, before they be out of danger of the rest of the proverb: correct not the Cretans and their amisses, but Titus and his elders, serving all antiquity, and patterns of primitive government, as Procrustes^a did his guests, who still reduced them to the scantling of his beds. So these, either cutting them short, or forcing them out longer, till they apply to the just model they have fancied to themselves, and would impose upon others. Thus Titus must be screwed up into an extraordinary, and so a temporary officer, an evangelist, or a secondary apostle, (as Walo Messalinus, and others,) not a fixed and ordinary governor of the Church of Crete, lest that come cross to their designs; and on the other side elders of the text must be degraded into common presbyters, lest we should have bishops here of St. Paul's and Titus's own creation: with how little reason in either, we go on to consider in

II. The second act, to which this power is here designed, and that is *Καθιστάναι, to ordain elders in every city.*

Concerning which elders, whether of the first or second rank, I know well what variety of opinion hath past, even amongst my own mother's sons. Nor shall I be nice to acknowledge it; as counting it our advantage, that we have more than a single hypothesis to salve the phenomena, and some choice of answers, each of them is sufficiently securing us from the contradiction of the gainsayers; to whose pretensions these elders will be for ever

¹ In locum.

^a Ἀναγκάσας αὐτοὺς ἐπισοῦν τοῖς κλυτῆρσι. PLUT. in Thesev.

useless, whether understood bishops, or common presbyters always ordained, and governed, either by the Apostles themselves, or by bishops of their appointments as they drew off. But, not to leave it wholly in the clouds, I will not doubt to profess mine own sense too, with due submission; that the elders in the text were very bishops, appointed one in every city, and every suburbicarian region thereof.

1. For this is most agreeable, not only to the exposition of the Ancient Church, (the best comment when all is done, upon doubtful places of Scripture.)

2. But to the context also, which expressly calls them bishops in the seventh verse. Were it not for this, and what follows in the next particular, we were, perhaps, at liberty to leave the word at large in its general acceptation, as it takes in both orders, both useful in every city, and so both to be supplied by Titus, in which Oecumenius¹ hath gone before us, affirming, that Titus was left in Crete, *to ordain clerks in every city*. But we are determined: for, though at present I demand not, that *Πρεσβύτερος*, wherever it occurs in the New Testament, should signify a bishop; yet, that *Ἐπίσκοπος* doth so, I shall not doubt to affirm, till I see the text produced, that attributes it to some person, otherwise evinced to have been no more than a single presbyter.

And thirdly, and lastly, most agreeable also to the text itself, and the distribution of these presbyters by cities, the peculiar seat of bishops, according to the scheme of the Ancient Church, and the method the blessed Apostles thought good to use in the planting and modelling of it. For, that they preached the Gospel not only in cities², but in the countries adjoining; yet planted churches in cities still, and settled single persons their successors there, to govern both the cities and the regions round about, (from whence a city and a church come to be equipollent terms, even in the Apostolical writings, and *Πρεσβύτερος κατὰ ἐκκλησίαν* in the Acts³ the same with *Πρεσβύτεροι κατὰ πόλιν* in the text;) and yet further, that they left the churches of inferior cities, and their bishops in dependence upon the metropolis, which

¹ *Argum. in Tit.* "ἵνα καταστήσῃ κατὰ πόλεις κηρικούς.

² *Ἡ χώρα, vel ἡ περίχωρος.* Act. xiii. 49, and xiv. 6, 7.

³ Acts xiv. 24, and xvi. 4, 5.

were the chief according to the civil division, (and that the only true ground of the superiority of one church above another,) hath been rendered as manifest as anything almost in the ecclesiastical antiquity, against all adversaries, (both those of the hills and those of the lake too,) by the learned and well-placed labours of those excellent persons in both pages of the diptychs, whom I shall not need to name, since their own works praise them in the gate. Now, I would ask the question, If these be common presbyters, why appropriated to cities? Were there to be none of this sort in the villages, or in the country about? Or, since limited to cities, why should we not pronounce them bishops? the city being the bishop's proper seat, and he the star of that orb, the angel and the intelligence of that sphere. A truth so visible, that Calvin, and Beza, and many others after them, (so far may persons otherwise of great learning be transported *ἐν τῷ δοῦλέψειν ὑποθέσει*), to avoid the inconvenience, were concerned to translate *Κατὰ πόλιν* here *oppidatim*, (Elders in every Town:) not, as some others, less interested persons, may perhaps, be thought to have done, to gain the advantage of that distributive termination, which no adverb from *civitas*, or *urbs*, could afford them: but', I fear, for some other design, perhaps, to make the interpretation of the text (a practice too usual with them and other) to lacquay it to the espoused opinions, and to serve the *κυρία δόξα*, and so to whip theology with grammar's rods; but so loosely bound up, that at the first stroke they fly in the air, and prove ineffectual; every Alphabetarian knowing well, that the Latin of it is *urbs*, or *civitas*: and *oppidum*, in the precise propriety of language (which ought in such cases to be kept), *Κωμόπολις* at the most, in middle state, betwixt a city and a drop; and in the ancient glosses¹ no more than *Πολίχμιον*, *civitatula*, at the highest.

And now, I shall not take upon me as some have done, to number the cities under Titus's jurisdiction. It is true, in Homer's time, Crete was *ἑκατόμφολις*, famous for its hundred cities²: but in Ptolemy's age, they rose not to half the number: and Pliny having named about forty, saith plainly, that of the

¹ See Mr. HOOKER's *Preface*.

² *Glos. Philox et Cirilli*.

² *Centum urbium clara fama. PLIN.*
lib. 4. cap. 12.

other sixty *memoria extat*, nothing remained but the memory. In the times of the Greek empire, there were about twenty suffragan bishops, under four archbishops, as Magnius¹ reckons them up; but, at this day, under the Venetian, not half so many of either sort. So variable are these proportions, according to the fate of cities, and the daily change of the civil partition; who would look now for the throne of a primate in Caer-Leon upon Uske? or rake in the ruins of Carthage for St. Cyprian's mitre? He that should undertake a pilgrimage to Crete, to visit Titus's metropolis, would in vain inquire for the once famous Gortyna, and not find so much of its dust together, as would suffice to write its name in. That renowned Septenary of Asia, of old not only episcopal, but metropolitan churches², where are they! Cities may fail, and bishops' sees with them: stars have their vicissitudes; may rise, and set again; candlesticks are moveable utensils, and may be carried from room to room; but *Karà πόλιν* is the standing rule, and fails not; a city and a bishop, generally adequate to one another. For, as on the one side, an universal bishop, with the whole world for his jurisdiction, is a proud pretence, and too vast for humanity to grasp; so on the other side, rural bishops, too, is a poor and a mean design, and not only retrieves the Italian episcopelli, so scorned at Trent, but worse. As he divided the stream into so many rills, that it lost its name and being: so these, by a too minute division, would cantonize the dignity, and degrade it into nothing at the last: as the roitelets, and petty kings of Ivedot, do but diminish majesty, and take it down into contempt³. *Οὐ δεῖ ἐν ταῖς κόμαις, Οὐ δεῖ ἐν ταῖς χώραις.* *Non in vicis, aut villis, aut modica civitate:* No bishops there, lest they grow contemptible⁴; so run the canons of the ancient Church, both Greek and Latin. And therefore the twelfth Council of Toledo⁵ unmitred one Convildus, formerly an abbot, in a little village, and dissolved the bishopric which Bamba⁶, the Gothic king, had violently procured to be erected there; and that by authority of this rule of the Church,

¹ In *Grægor.* p. 183. b.

² See the learned Primate's excellent Discourses of the Original of Metrop. and the Proconsular Asia.

³ *Concil. Laodic. Sardic. Tolet. 12.*

⁴ q. d. Non in oppido.

⁵ Ne vilescat nomen Episcopi.

⁶ Ann. 716. Or Veamba.

and the very *Katà πόλιν* of my text ¹, which they actually plead in the front of their decree, to justify their proceedings.

Amongst these so many cities in Crete, Gortyna was then the civil metropolis, as Solinus², who lived in that age, informs us, and in the next age, we are sure, the ecclesiastical metropolis too; there being still extant³, in the Church Story, the inscription of an epistle that plainly infers it. For Dionysius, that renowned bishop of Corinth, who flourished about the middle of the second century, and stands so highly commended in Eusebius for his Catholic epistles (seven of them being there mentioned) to several churches and their bishops, or, as St. Jerome⁴ hath it more distinctly, *Ad aliarum Urbium, et Provinciarum Episcopos*, (some of them being written to inferior cities and bishops, others to mother-cities, and their metropolitans, and so to whole provinces,) amongst the rest sent two into Crete, the one of the former sort to *Pinytus Gnossiar urbis Episcopus*, as St. Jerome, or as Eusebius⁵, to the Gnossians, and Pinytus, bishop of that diocese only: the other, of the latter sort, and in a different style⁶, to the Church about (or belonging to) Gortyna, together with the rest of the dioceses in Crete, and in it acknowledgeth Philip their bishop, that is, not only of that church of Gortyna, but of all those dioceses, (*Ἐπίσκοπον αὐτῶν*,) not αὐτῆς, whom therefore St. Jerome significantly qualifies *Episcopum Cretensem, hoc est urbis Gortynæ*, Bishop of Gortyna, *et eo nomine* of all Crete too. Enough to make evidence, that Gortyna was the metropolis of Crete, even in the Christian account, very early, and long before the Council of Nice, (whatever hath been pretended to the contrary,) and probably in the epoch of the text itself; since even then it was certainly such in the civil style, most confessedly the ground of the Christian establishment (for sure it was not chance, or lottery, that produced a perpetual coincidence) both there, and elsewhere the world over.

¹ Imprimis ex Epistola Pauli Tito Discipulo, ut Episcopos per civitates constituere debeat, præcepit, &c. *Concilii Merlin.* tom. i. p. 135. b.

² Cap. 17. Centum constipati Urbibus quarum principatus est penes Gorty.

³ EUSEB. l. 4. cap. κγ.

⁴ In *Catalogo Script. Eccles.*

⁵ Πρὸς Κνωσίας καὶ τον Πίνυτον τῆς παροικίας Ἐπίσκοπον.

⁶ Τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ παροικούσῃ Γόρτυναν, ἅμα ταῖς λοιπαῖς κατὰ Κρήτην παροικίας.

And now, let me lead you up to the top of Mount Ida, the proudest height in Crete; from whence geographers tell us, we may descry both seas, and see all the cities, like a crown, in circle about it. There let us make a stand awhile, and look about us, and consider holy Titus, with those numerous plantations, and nurseries of primitive Christianity, distributed, as it were¹ *areolatim*, like so many distinct beds, and knots in the Eden of God, planted and watered, and drest by apostolical hands, all under his care and custody. Consider him (by way of recollection) under the variety of circumstance, wherein the text hath hitherto presented him to our meditations, consider him a single person; no colleagues, no compeers, no co-ordinates. For, as our Lord promised the keys, (and doubtless so gave as he had promised them,) not to a college, but to single persons², *Tibi dabo—et quodcumque (tu) ligaveris*: so the Apostles, at the next remove; St. Paul here, I am sure, for one, intrusts all, not to communities and consistories, but to individuals; for so runs the style, *Ego Te ut Tu sicut ego Tibi*, all personal, and particular. Consider him determined to a fixed and constant residence, left, and settled in Crete, the ordinary and perpetual governor of that church. For we ought to have more regard to reason and the true nature of things, than to pronounce him an extraordinary officer; who, for aught appears, is empowered to none, but acts of ordinary, and continual importance to the church; and more reverence for the blessed apostle, than to think he would issue a commission, full fraught with rules of perpetual use, to a temporary delegate, who was perhaps next day to be exauctorated, and never to have any exercise of them. Consider him yet further invested with a plenitude and sufficiency of power (not only to preach, and baptize, and so to beget sons to God and the Church, which is the presbytery, and, for aught I know, the whole of the evangelist's office; but also) both to ordain elders in all the cities under him, and so to beget spiritual fathers too, as Epiphanius³ distinguisheth; and then, (as in the old paternal dominion, they ruled whom they had begotten,) to govern and regulate whom he had thus ordained, even all the bishops of those numerous cities. Whence the ques-

¹ Παισιν πασαι.

² Matt. xvi. 19.

³ *Contra Hæres.* lib. 3. *contr. Acrium.*

tion of our reverend and learned Jewel¹ most naturally proceeded, "Having the government of so many bishops, what may we call him but an archbishop?" (and I add) of so many cities, what but a metropolitan? I say, consider all this soberly and maturely, and you will not disavow me if I say, that whosoever shall drive us out of this Crete, thus strongly garrisoned by St. Paul and his disciples, and slight and dismantle so many strengths and fortresses of the episcopal cause as there were cities in that island, and extort out of our hands this great instance of so many bishops, ordained and governed by their own metropolitan, so high in the first age; will be a very Pyrgopolinices indeed², *qui legiones Spiritu diffiat*, and deserve the surname of Creticus, better than Metellus the Roman, that subdued the island.

For our parts, we are not ashamed of our conformity to so primitive a pattern; nay, we glory in so handsome and innocent a syncretism: for we are not better than our fathers; nor wiser than the Apostles of Christ himself. And, had we been of their counsel, who not long since pretended to reform us according to the best examples, we might have bespoke them, as once St. Paul did those over hasty and unruly mariners (who would needs put to sea when sailing was dangerous, and thrive accordingly, being quickly forced to abandon the helm, and to let the ship drive³, being not able to bear up against the wind⁴) "Εδει μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες, μὴ ἀνάγεσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς Κρήτης. "Sirs, you should not have parted from Crete (in the text), and so have gained⁵ harm and disgrace." If really you be in quest of the best examples of modelling a church, you may certainly find here as fair and as pure ideas, and as well worth your imitation, as the more modern platform can afford you, which⁶ I have reason to believe the famous author of it intended not at first a pattern to other churches, but an expedient to serve the present exigency of his own, in a juncture scarce capable of anything better, and which, I am persuaded, the learnedest, and wisest, and most pious of his followers would gladly relinquish for something more perfect and primitive; would the necessities of their

¹ *Apud* REV. USSERIUM.

² *PLAUT. in Militie.*

³ Acts xxvii. 15.

⁴ Acts xxvii. 21.

⁵ *Ibid. τὴν ὕβριν καὶ τὴν ζημίαν.*

⁶ See Mr. HOOKER's Preface.

present condition (which have no law, but much of excuse for those that really lie under them) permit them the happiness of so blessed an exchange, which God in mercy send them.

And so much of the second act, to which the power is here designed, and that is the *ordaining of elders*, together with the distribution of them *Κατὰ πόλιν, In every city one*.

I have but three words to add of the first part of my text, and that was the limitation of these acts to the Apostle's prescription; all must be so done, even *as he had appointed*. So, in regard of the variety of the offices themselves, and their several subordinations; so in regard of the choice of the persons, and their requisite qualifications; and so, also, in regard of the rites, and ceremonies, and manner of ordaining them: still, *Ὡς ἐγὼ διέταξαμην*. All, *as I had appointed thee*.

And now, if any demand, where these *Διατάξεις*, these constitutions apostolical, are to be found; I shall not send them to Clemens's book, that bears that name, but to the universal practice of the ancient Church, in which they are still in great part visible; and thence handed over to posterity by tradition and conformity of practice, and by degrees inserted into the canons of the old councils, as occasion was offered, and into the ordinals of several churches. Or, if a readier and more present answer be required, I know not where to design it you nearer at hand, or more full to your satisfaction, than by dismissing you, to attend the great action that is to follow. In which you will see all so grave and solemn, so pious and devout, so primitive and apostolical, and so exactly up to the level of the text, and the *Ὡς ἐγὼ διέταξαμην* of St. Paul here, that I know not where to point you out so pregnant and full a comment upon my text, nor what better amends to make you for my own failings upon it.

And yet, having thus hastily run it over, with all its parts and branches, (some few sands still remaining of that heap, the bounty of your patience allows me,) I will crave leave briefly to take a second view of it in the auditory itself, and read it over again in the face of the assembly. For the better part of it, your own thoughts have already prevented me; and every eye hath singled out our most Reverend Titus, *γνήσιον τέκνον*, a genuine son and successor of the apostles, upon the very act of

constituting *Πρεσβυτέρους κατὰ πόλιν*, more than a whole province of elders at once: men able to abide, and pass with honour the dreadful test that follows upon my text, as being both for life blameless, sober, just, holy, temperate; and in doctrine sound, holding fast the faithful word, as they have been taught; notwithstanding all the discouragements they have met with, from the sad condition of our common mother.

But then for the rest; I wish it were not so easy a task, to find Crete in England, with all its *wants* and all its *amisses*. For, to say nothing of those more innocent, and less important resemblances, in which we symbolize; (both islands lying in a kind of trigon betwixt three points, or promontories¹; both styled the Happy Islands by ancient writers, *Μακαρόνησος*², and *Insulæ Fortunatæ*³, for the temper of the air, and fertility of the soil; both denominated from those white and chalky cliffs⁴ which bound them on one side⁵, *Candia à candidis*, as Albion *ab albis rupibus*, both famous for their just laws, and ours no less to be valued, than those of Rhadamanthus and Minos (had we but the wisdom to comport ourselves to the obedience of them as we ought): I say, to let all this pass, I wish we had not too much of Crete amongst us, whether morally considered, in regard of their vices, or historically, in regard of their imperfect condition.

I would not be mistaken, as one that delights to libel a whole nation at once (especially mine own); but St. Chrysostom hath dressed an apology for St. Paul in this particular, by distinguishing, *Οὐχ ὑβριστικοῦ τοῦτο ἦθους, ἀλλὰ ἐρωτικοῦ*⁶. He did it not to injure any, but out of kindness and pure love to reform them; just as our blessed Lord *μυρία ἐλοιδορεῖτο*, saith the same Father, a thousand times reproached the Scribes and Pharisees; not because they had wronged him, but lest they should harm and destroy others. And so St. Paul, with the same affections about him, cries, *O insensati Galatæ*⁷! to one church: are you such fools? and here,

¹ MAGIN. p. 182, 38.

² SOLIN. cap. 17.

³ CAMD. Brit. p. 3, ex LYCOPH. Cassand.

⁴ *Crete, ab Insula Creta, ubi melior est.* ISIDOR. lib. 16, cap. 1.

⁵ MAGIN. p. 182, 38.

⁶ In Tit. Hom. 1.

⁷ Gal. iii. 1.

Κρήτες δὲ ψεύσται, κακὰ θηρία, γαστέρες ἀργαί¹.

That poet was, I think, a prophet indeed, (otherwise than St. Paul meant him,) and sang of us too: and in that verse the present age may see its face, and blush. I appeal to your better observation, if we have not outvied the very Cretans themselves in the first particular; and in a worse kind too lied for God's sake, and talked deceitfully for him². What pious frauds and holy cheats? What slandering the footsteps of God's anointed, when the interest was to blacken him? What false accusing of our brethren, aye, and of our fathers too? That we might devour the man more righteous than ourselves? Pliny hath observed it, *Nullum animal maleficum in Cretâ*³; and Solinus adds, *Nec ulla serpens*⁴: but they should have excepted the inhabitants; for they were κακὰ θηρία, (and this witness, I am sure, is true⁵;) not only evil beasts, as we translate it, but venomous too: and I wish there were no other island could show vipers too many, that have eat out the bowels of their common mother, and flown in the face of their political father, without whose benigner influence their chill and benumbed fortunes had not warmth enough to raise them to so bold an attempt. It is unwillingly that I go on to the rest of that character; but your own experience shall justify me, if I say that the γαστέρες ἀργαί that remains hath been since exemplified in some other sense; and our idleness, and fulness of bread, those sins of Sodom, have, I fear, long since proclaimed it to our faces. And now I cannot wonder, if it be observed from the records of history, (as Grotius assures us⁶, who knew them well,) that the Cretans were (and I wish there were no other such) a mutinous and a seditious people; and had but too much need to be put in mind by Titus, to be subject to principalities and powers, and to obey magistrates: for the men of Shechem eat and drink, and (then most naturally go on to) curse Abimelech⁷; (aye, and David, they would have done, had they lived in his time, and the flagon held out) for when our bellies and our heads are full, then woe be to our governors; and wealth, and ease, and having

¹ Ver. 12.

² Job xiii. 7.

³ Lib. 8. cap. 58.

⁴ Cap. 17.

⁵ Ver. 13.

⁶ In Tit. iii. 1.

⁷ Judges ix. 27.

nothing to do, make us ripe for anything that is evil. There were, amongst the new converts of Crete, some false brethren of the circumcision¹; for the stopping of whose mouths, as some have thought, and St. Chrysostom amongst the rest, St. Paul in chief designed this epistle. And I should be glad to be assured, that there are not some amongst us, who, though they love not to bleed, yet, I am afraid, are too prone to Judaize in some other instance, and to retrieve some other part of the Mosaical Pædagogogue, which, perhaps, suits no better with that liberty, to which Christ our Lord hath called us, and in which we ought to stand fast². It is with much reluctance (could I baulk it so full in my way) that I show you the Cretan labyrinth, that not long since, I am sure, was amongst us (God grant it be not still), that inextricable and endless maze of errors and heresies, that every day opened itself into new paths and alleys: dividing and subdividing into never ending mistakes, till they had abased and almost destroyed religion with abominable heterogeneous mixtures, and left the little semblance of Christianity remaining amongst them, an hideous monster, or minotaur, *Semibovemque virum, Semivirumque bovem*:—Jerusalem and Rome, party *per pale*; with Geneva and Cracovia, if you will have it quarterly; aye, and Mecca too, I fear, in chief, to embellish the scutcheon.

But is there no Theseus, no generous hero, to attack this monster? No courteous and charitable Ariadne that will lend a clue, and help us to disentangle the ruffled scain, and to evade these perplexed wanderings? Hath our Crete no Dictamnus in it to expel the arrow which so long hath galled our sides? No counter-poison for so many mischiefs? Or rather, in the prophetic scheme, Is there no balm in Gilead³? Is there no physician there? Yes, there is; and, therefore, let us hope well of the healing of the wounds of the daughter of our people, since they are under the cure of those very hands, upon which God hath entailed a miraculous gift of healing, as if it were on purpose to raise up our hopes into some confidence that we shall owe one day to those sacred hands, next under God, the healing of the Church's and the people's evils, as well as of the king's. Blessed for ever be that God who hath restored us such a gracious

¹ Ver. 10.² Gal. v. 1.³ Jer. viii. 22.

sovereign, to be the repairer of the breach¹, and the nursing father of his Church: and hath put it into the king's heart to appoint Titus, as this day, to ordain elders for every city, to supply all that is wanting, and to correct whatever is amiss. Blessed are our eyes, for they see that which many a righteous man (more righteous than we) desired so much to see, and hath not seen it. And blessed be this day², (let God regard it from above, and a more than common light shine upon it!) in which we see the Phoenix, arising from her funeral pile, and taking wing again; our Holy Mother, the Church, standing up from the dust and ruins in which she sate so long, taking beauty again for ashes³, and the garments of praise for the spirit of heaviness; remounting the episcopal throne, bearing the keys of the kingdom of Heaven with her, and armed (we hope) with the rod of discipline; her hands spread abroad to bless and to ordain, to confirm the weak, and to reconcile the penitent; her breasts flowing with the sincere milk of the word; and girt with a golden girdle under the paps, tying up all by a meet limitation and restriction to primitive patterns, and prescripts apostolical. A sight so venerable and august, that, methinks, it should at once strike love and fear into every beholder, and an awful veneration. I may confidently say it. It was never well with us, since we strayed from the due reverence we owed to Heaven and her; and it is strange we should no sooner observe it, but run a maddening after other lovers, that ruined us, till God hedged in our ways with thorns, that we could no longer find them⁴, and then we said, I will go, and return to my former husband; for then was it better with me than now.

Well; blest be the mercies of God, we are at last returned, and Titus is come back into Crete; and there are elders ordaining for every city. But, *hic Rhodus, hic Saltus*. Reverend father, this is your Crete, adorn it as you can. The province is hard, and the task weighty and formidable, even to an angel's shoulders. That we mistake not, Titus was not left behind in Crete to take his ease, or to sleep out the storm which soon after overtook St. Paul at sea; he might well expect a worse at land (*naufra-*

¹ Isa. lviii. 12.

² Job iii. 4.

³ Isa. lxi. 3.

⁴ Hos. ii. 6, 7.

gium terrestre) and a more tempestuous Euroclydon. Believe it, a bishop's robe is *Tunica molesta*¹ (as the martyr's pitched coat was called of old²), and sits, perhaps, more uneasy upon the shoulders. The mitre is not *Ὅρκου γαλέη*, to render invisible or invulnerable; but rather exposeth to enemies. The rochet and the surplice, emblems of innocence indeed, but marks of envy too: and it is in those whites, that malice sticks all her darts. And, therefore, St. Paul was fain to entreat Timothy into this dignity; *For this cause besought I thee to abide at Ephesus*³: for there were beasts to be fought with there; and the apostle had tried them, both tooth and paw⁴. So that I cannot wonder if our bishops say, *nolo episcopari*, in good earnest; and if any of our Zarahs⁵ thrust forth a hasty hand, and be laid hold on, and the scarlet thread cast about his finger, it is not strange if he draw back his hand, and refuse the primogenitor; choosing rather to lie hid in obscurity, *quàm victus purpurâ progredi*, as the great cardinal⁶ wittily alludes. As in Crete new founded, so in England new restored, there must needs be many things wanting, and much amiss, not so easily to be supplied or amended.

When the Lord turned again the captivity of Sion, they made their thankful acknowledgments, and said in the Psalm, The Lord hath done great things for us already, whereof we will be glad⁷. But then it follows immediately in the next verse, Turn again our captivity, O Lord, as the rivers in the south⁸. It seems their captivity (I am sure ours) is still to turn again, even after it is returned. For there are relics of it still behind, and the sad effects remain, (an age will hardly be able to efface them;) and, which is the saddest of all, we are still, I fear, in captivity to the same sins that occasioned that; and they are able to bring upon us ten thousand captivities, worse than the former. Plainly, there are riddles in our condition, (and whose heifer shall we plough with⁹ to unfold them?) Returned and

¹ *Tunicâ punire molestâ*; JUVENAL. *Sat.* 8.

² Vide BARON. Tom. 1. Ann. 60. n. 4.

³ 1 Tim. i. 3.

⁴ 1 Cor. xv. 32.

⁵ Genes. xxxviii. 28, 29.

⁶ BARON. *Ep. ad Papam Clem. VIII.*

T. 7.

⁷ Psal. cxxvi. 3.

⁸ Ver. 4.

⁹ Judg. xiv. 18.

not returned: restored, and yet not so fully restored:—in fine, with them in the Psalm, We are like to them that dream'. With St. Peter^a, the good angel hath roused us, indeed, and our chains are fallen off: we have bound on our sandals, and begin to find our legs again; and we are past the first and the second ward; but, methinks, the iron gate that leads to the city is not over apt to open to us of its own accord, so that we wist not well, if it be true and real, that is done by the angel; still apt to think we see a vision; still like to them that dream. We have Jerusalem (it is true) and the Hill of Sion in our eyes; yet many look back to Babel, and multitudes sit captives still by those waters, increasing them with their tears. If any have taken down their harps from those willows, they are not strung, nor well in tune; and we scarce find how to sing the Lord's songs, even in our own land.

And, therefore, let me advise you now, in the close of all; give not over, but ply your devotions still; and whenever you sing in *convertendo Dominus*, in the midst of those doxologies, forget not to insert one versicle of petition, *Converte, Domine, converte*: turn again what remains of our captivity, and perfect our faint beginnings. Aye, that's the way, if we would succeed; *Vota dabunt, quæ bella negârunt*. For God will hear the prayers of his church, especially for his church; as he did those of David, Psalm cxxxii., Let thy priests be clothed with righteousness^a, that is the petition: and what saith the answer of God in a few verses after? (I myself) will clothe her priests—(with righteousness. Aye, and) with salvation^b (too)—Let the saints shout for joy, saith the Psalmist: her saints, saith God, shall shout aloud for joy: so that there is more granted in both parts than was asked. St. Paul knew well that this was the method; and, therefore, before he took forth his son Titus, the great lesson of my text, he first imparts his apostolical benediction, "To Titus, mine own son, grace, and mercy, and peace from God the father, and the Lord Jesus Christ, our Saviour^c." St. Chrysostom and Theophylact have observed it to my hand, that he bestows upon so great a bishop the same common blessing that he is wont to

^a Psal. cxxvi. 1.^b Ver. 16.^c Acts xii. 7, &c.^d Ver. 4.^e Ver. 9.

give to all, (*Τοῖς πολλοῖς, καὶ τοῖς ἰδιώταις,*) grace, and mercy, and peace: aye, and no man, as they go on, hath more need of it than he. Not of grace; for who hath more burthens to bear? more difficulties to go through with? Not of mercy; for who in greater danger of offending either God or man? Not of peace; having so many enemies on all sides, and so many troubles of every sort. Only St. Jerome adds, that here is no *multipliciter*¹, as in other appreciations². Common Christians may have their peace multiplied. Peace within, and peace without; peace with God, and peace with men, too; but Titus's peace is *sine multiplicatione*. The bishops and governors of the Church must look for none, but peace with Heaven and their own consciences; (and for that single pearl, like wise merchants, they sell all that they have³;) as for the rest, *Ἐξωθεν μάχαι*, that is their lot⁴, and that is their motto too: they must look for *fightings without*. St. Paul, in that divine valedictory to the bishops of the province of Ephesus, (Acts xx.) though, as he saith, for the space of three years together he had not ceased to warn every one of them, night and day, with tears, (as knowing well both the burthen and the danger they stood under;) yet (a tender affection having never said enough) he resumes the argument, (verse 8,) "Take heed to yourselves, and to all the flock; for I know, that, after my departing, shall grievous wolves enter in amongst you (*Λύκοι βαπεῖς*, he had almost said *Λυκάνθρωποι*, mankind wolves⁵;) that will neither spare the flock nor you; but, by a witty and compendious malice, attack the shepherd first, that the sheep may be scattered, and so gleaned up at leisure. And, therefore, take heed to yourselves in the first place, in whose welfare that of the flock is so closely bound up." And yet, after all these caveats, and very seasonable advertisements, he cannot yet believe them safe, unless he leaves them under a better guard than his or their own: and, therefore, in fine, he kneels down and prays with them, and for them all, recommending them to God and to the word of his grace. And I know not where better to leave you, than in the practice and actual exercise of a duty so fairly recommended; and shall, therefore, desire you to turn your wearied

¹ In locum.² 1 Pet. i. 2.³ 2 Pet. i. 2.⁴ Matt. xiii. 46.⁵ 2 Cor. vii. 5.⁶ Weet-Wolves, Loupe-garous.

eyes from me and lift them up to Heaven, (from whence every good and perfect gift descends,) to seek from thence the smoothing of all difficulties, the solving of all doubts, the calming of all animosities, and the uniting of all affections: and to beg of that Father of mercies, and God of all consolations, that he will (every day more and more) turn again our captivity, like the rivers in the south; that they who sow in tears may reap in joy: that he would send forth his good spirit to move upon the waters of our Massah and Meribah, to digest that chaos and confusion, and strife of opinions into one beautiful and harmonious composure; and, finally, that he, who, by the hand of his holy apostle, founded this church of Crete in Titus and his elders, in a meet and decent imparity and subordination, would maintain his own ordinance amongst us also, and justify his institutions to the utmost against all gainsayers; that the rod of Aaron may again bud and blossom, and bring forth fruit amongst us; that his Urim and his Thummim may be with his holy ones; that he would bless their substance, and accept the work of their hands, and smite through the loins of them that hate them, that they rise not again: that so there may never want a succession of holy bishops and priests to shine as lights in the world, holding forth the word of life; till we all come in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto that perfection and fulness of the everlasting kingdom: to the which, God in mercy bring us all, through the merits of his dear Son. To which most blessed Father and Son, with God the Holy Ghost, be ascribed by all the creatures in heaven and earth, blessing, honour, glory, and power, both now and for evermore. Amen.

Μόνῳ Θεῷ δόξα.

LEX IGNEA;

OR,

THE SCHOOL OF RIGHTEOUSNESS.

A SERMON

PREACHED BEFORE THE KING, OCT. 10TH, 1666, AT THE SOLEMN FAST
APPOINTED FOR THE LATE FIRE IN LONDON.

*When thy judgments are in the earth, the inhabitants of the world will learn
righteousness.*—Isaiah xxvi. 9.

THIS chapter with the two next before, and that which follows, are all four parts of the same prophetic sermon, (as appears by those words so often repeated in them, *In that day*, fixing and determining all to the same epoch and period of time,) belong all to the same subject matter, that is, the destruction of Judah and Jerusalem, whether by the Babylonians, or Romans, or both. So that the earth (or as we may rather translate, the land, or the country) wasted, and utterly spoiled and turned upside down, chap. xxiv. ver. 1 and 3, is doubtless the land of Jewry: and the world that languisheth and fadeth away, ver. 4, of that chapter, not much wider; that, and the neighbouring regions, with whom the Jews had commerce and intercourse of peace and war, Moab, and Egypt, and Babylon, in a word, the Jewish world; (for so both the Hebrew and Greek words¹ usually translated the Earth and the World, are often in scripture-language contracted and limited by the matter in hand:) and, consequently, the city of confusion, which is broken down, a city turned chaos again, as the Hebrew imports, chap. xxiv. 10;—the

¹ תִּבְלָא et תִּבְלָא ἡ γῆ et ἡ οἰκουμένη :

city turned into a heap, or a ruin; nay, *in tumulum*, as the vulgar Latin, or *εἰς χῶμα*, as LXX. translate it, into one great sepulchre to itself, buried in its own rubbish, chap. xxv. 2;—the lofty city laid low, even to the ground, and abased in the very dust, chap. xxvi. 5;—the city desolate and forsaken, and left wilderness and desert all over, chap. xxvii. 10, are but so many variations of the phrase, and signify all the same thing, the burning of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, or Titus, or (as some will have it) by both.

This sad devastation the prophet first beholds *in speculo prophetico*, sees it from far in his prophetic telescope, as clearly and distinctly as if it were before his eyes, and describes it here and there the whole sermon throughout, but chiefly, chap. xxiv. in so lofty a language, that many have mistaken it for the end of the world, and the consummation of all things. But then, to sweeten so sad a theme, he assures them, it shall not be a *Πανωλεθρία*, God will not make a final end now: no, “a remnant shall be left, as the shaking of an olive-tree, and as the gleaning grapes, when the vintage is done;” chap. xxiv. 13. Nor shall they be only preserved, but restored too: “The Lord God will in time wipe away every tear from off all faces, and at last swallow up this death too in victory;” chap. xxv. 8. He will turn their captivities, and rebuild their city and their temple too; and all this shall be as it were life from the dead¹, as the apostle calls it, so miraculous a re-establishment, at a juncture so improbable when they are destroyed out of all ken of recovery, that it shall be a kind of resurrection; and so like the great one, that it is described in the very proper phrases of that, both by the other prophets² and by ours too a little below the text, “Thy dead shall live again; my dead bodies shall arise: awake and sing, ye that dwell in the dust³, &c.” And then (which is of nearest concern to us, and to our present business) the prophet directs the remnant that should escape how to behave themselves under so great a desolation; and he contrives his directions into a three-fold song (that they may be the better remarked and remembered) tuned and fitted to the three great moments of the event.

The first, to the time of the ruin itself, chap. xxiv., where,

¹ Rom. xi. 15.

² Ezek. xxxvii. Dan. xii.

³ Ver. 19.

having set before their eyes the sad prospect of the holy city, and house of God in flames; when thus it shall be in the midst of the land; saith he, there shall be a remnant, and they shall lift up their voice, and sing for the majesty of the Lord, saying, Glorify ye the Lord in the fires, (verse 15.) And this is שִׁיר תְּהִלָּה a song of praise.

The second is שִׁיר מַעֲלוֹת a song of degrees or ascensions, fitted to the time of their return, when all shall be restored and rebuilt again; and that we have, chap. xxvii. 2: "In that day sing ye unto her; a vineyard of red wine: I the Lord do keep it; I will water it every moment; lest any hurt it, I will keep it night and day."

The third, (of which my text is a principal strain,) belongs to the whole middle interval between the ruin and the restoration, in this twenty-sixth chapter. "In that day shall this song be sung in the land of Judah: We have a strong city; salvation will God appoint for walls and bulwarks, &c." As if he had said, though our city be ruined, yet God is still our dwelling place; our fortresses dismantled, and thrown down, but salvation will he appoint us for walls and bulwarks; our temples in the dust, but God will be to us himself as a little sanctuary'. And this is שִׁיר מִשְׁכִּיל a song to give instruction, teaching them, and in them us, how to demean ourselves while the calamity lies upon us; that is, to make God our refuge, ver. 4; to wait for Him in the way of his judgments, ver. 8,—and in this, ver. 9, earnestly to desire Him from the very soul in the night (in the darkest and blackest of the affliction,) to seek Him early, when it begins to dawn towards a better condition; and, in the mean time, as it is in the text, to improve all this severe discipline, as He intends it, for the advancing us in the knowledge of Him, and of ourselves, and of our whole duty; *For when thy judgments are in the earth, the inhabitants of the world will learn righteousness.*

A text, you see, that supposeth judgments in the earth, or upon a land, (as its occasions) and so suitable to our sad condition: a text, too, that proposeth our learning as its end and design, and so suitable (one would think) to our inclination too.

The character and genius of the age we live in is learned: the

¹ Ezek. xi. 16.

pretence at this day so high, and so universal, that he is nobody now, who hath not a new system of the world, a new hypothesis in nature, a new model of government, a new scheme of God's decrees, and the greatest depths in theology. We are many of us acute philosophers (that must not be disputed us); most of us grand politics and statesmen too; all of us (without exception) deep divines:—will needs be wiser than our neighbours, but however wiser than our teachers and governors, if not wiser than God himself. A kind of moral rickets, that swells and puffs up the head, while the whole inner man of the heart wastes and dwindles. For like the silly women¹, disciples to the old Gnostics, while we are thus ever learning, (pretending to great heights and proficiencies,) we come never to the knowledge of the truth (the truth which is according unto godliness): in fine, amongst so many learners, they are but few that learn righteousness:—and, therefore, God himself here opens us a school; erects a severe discipline in the text; brings forth his *ferulas* when nothing else will serve the turn. For He hath indeed four schools, or rather four distinct forms and classes in the same great school of righteousness; the last only (that of his judgments) expressed in the text, but the rest too supposed at least, or covertly implied.

For whether we look upon the latter clause of the proposition, *The inhabitants of the world will learn*,—we find ourselves there under a double formality; as learners, and as inhabitants. As learners first, and so endued with faculties of reason; powers of a soul, capable of learning what is to be learned; stamped and possessed with first principles, and common notions, which, deeply searched and duly improved and cultivated, might teach us much of righteousness: and this is *schola cordis in domo interiori*, the school of the heart, God's first school in the little world within us. Secondly, as inhabitants of the great world, which is God's school too, as well as his temple, full of doctrines and instructions; *schola orbis*, in which He takes us forth continual lessons of righteousness.—*Seque ipsum inculcat, et offert, ut bene cognosci possit*; and that both from the natural world and from the political, whether *schola regni*, or *schola ecclesiæ*. Or, if we return to

¹ 2 Tim. iii. 6, 7.

the former branch of the text, *When thy judgments are in the earth*. This *when they are*, supposeth another time, when they *are not* in the earth, and that time is the time of love¹ (as the prophet speaks), the season of mercy. So that, thirdly, here is *schola misericordiarum*, the school of God's tender mercies inviting us, gently leading, and drawing us with the cords of a man², with the bands of love. And lastly when nothing else will serve, here is *schola judiciorum*, the school of God's severe judgments, driving us to repentance, and compelling us to come in and learn righteousness. A provision (you see) every way sufficient, and abundant for our learning, were not we wanting to ourselves.

But alas! we may run by the text, and easily read in it these three things, as so many very natural deductions and emanations from it. First, our own ignorance and stupidity; born like a wild ass's colt, as Zophar speaks³; and then to our natural, we add affected ignorance too: so that we are much to seek, and to learn righteousness, it must be taught us. Secondly, God's infinite and inexpressible grace and mercy to us; that when we had blurred the original, defaced the first traces of righteousness upon our souls, He was pleased to provide expedients to teach it us again the second time, that we might be renewed unto knowledge after the image of Him that created us in righteousness, as the apostle speaks⁴. And thirdly, our indocile and unteachable humour, our foul and shameful non-proficiency under so plentiful a grace. For though the text speaks of our learning righteousness, when God's judgments are upon us; yet (if the appearances of the world abroad suggested nothing to the contrary) it is introduced here in the text too, as the effect of the last form in God's school, in exclusion of all the former as ineffectual; his utmost method not to be used but at a pinch, when all the rest are baffled, and prove improsperous upon us. And then it is expressed in the original, and learned versions, with so many limitations and abatements (as we shall see by and by), that we may well give it up as the sum and upshot of all, that our All-merciful God omits no means or

¹ Ezek. xvi. 8.² Hos. xi. 4.³ Job xi. 12.⁴ Col. iii. 10. Ephes. iv. 24.

methods of our improvement; but we (supinely negligent, and prodigiously stubborn as we are) render them all ineffectual.

That we may do so no longer, but rather make good the profession, with which we have dared to appear this day before God, of humbling ourselves under his Almighty Hand; let us, before we pass on any further, lift up our hands and our hearts to Him in the heavens, beseeching Him by the power of his mighty grace so to sanctify to us all, both the sense of his present judgment, and all our meditations and discourses thereupon, that by all we may be promoted in learning righteousness.

The inhabitants of the world will learn righteousness or justice: What is that? Is there such a thing in the world? Or is it a name only, and a glorious pretence? Is it not only another word for interest or utility, and so nothing just but what is profitable; Carneades's infamous assertion¹ retrieved and owned with open face by Christians? Is it not the taking of a party, or the espousing of a faction, and appearing for it with heat and animosity; and a savage condemning and destroying all that are not of it? Is it not the profession to believe such a system of opinions, what life soever is consequent thereupon? An airy invisible righteousness, that never embodies or appears in our actions, but hovers in the clouds, in speculations and fancies, where no man can find it?

The truth is, there is no piece of unrighteousness more common in the world than thus to weigh justice itself in an unjust balance; while every one contrives his hypothesis, so as to salve the phenomena, so declares his notion, as may best suit and comport with his own unrighteous practices. But the righteousness we are to learn in God's school, must not be a self-chosen righteousness: we must not pay God our Sovereign the tribute of our obedience in coin of our own stamping; it must be such as will abide the touchstone of his Word, and the balance of his sanctuary. To make short, righteousness or justice, though elsewhere a single virtue, yet here it is virtually all:—*Συλλήβδην πᾶσ' ἀρετῇ ἐστι*, and, said the prophet, and the philosopher after him, *Ὅν μέρος ἀρετῆς, ἀλλ' ὅλη ἀρετή*

¹ V. LACTANT. lib. v.

ἔστιν, not a part, but all virtue: and so often, both in Scripture and the Fathers, comprehensively all religion, the whole duty of man, ἡ τῶν ἐντολῶν ἐκπλήρωσις, saith St. Chrysostom¹: *Omnes virtutum species uno justitiæ nomine*, saith St. Jerome. Not a particular star, nor a single constellation, but a whole heaven of virtues, an entire globe of moral and Christian perfections; an universal rectitude of the will, conforming us in all points to God's righteous law, the rule of our righteousness², or if you will in two words, it is *Suum cuique*, to give every one his due; *Suum Deo* first, and then *Suum proximo*; give God his due, and your neighbour too: these are the integral parts of it. So that righteousness, as the great rule of it, hath two tables, or, if you will, two hemispheres, the upper and the nether: both so vast, that we cannot measure them in a span (the span of time allotted me); I shall therefore contract them to the occasion, and give you only some of those particular lessons of righteousness, which this present judgment of God upon our land seems most clearly to take us forth, both into relation to God himself, and to our neighbours; and then call you and myself to a serious scrutiny, how well we have learned them, and so an end.

And first, we begin (as we ought) in giving God his due; in rendering to God the things that are God's. To limit this wide universality too, and render it more proper and peculiar, we may reduce all to that first of Isaiah's three songs mentioned at the beginning, *Glorify ye the Lord in the fires*³; giving Him upon this sad occasion the glory of that great trinity of his attributes; the glory of his power and majesty; the glory of his justice and equity; the glory of his goodness and mercy.

Give Him the glory of his power and greatness; which the prophet calls "Singing for the majesty of the Lord," chap. xxiv. 15, or "Beholding the majesty of the Lord, when his hand is lifted up," in the verse after my text. How great and glorious our God is, who is in himself incomprehensible, appears best by the glorious greatness of his works. If He builds, it is a world, heaven and earth, and the fulness of both. If He gives, it is his only Son out of his bosom, the brightness of his glory, and the

¹ THEOGEN. *Ethic.* v.² *Hom.* 12 in *St. Matt.*³ Chap. xxiv. 15.

express image of his person. If He rewards, it is a crown, it is a whole heaven of glories. If He be angry, He sends a deluge; opens the cataracts of heaven above, and breaks up the fountains of the great deep below, and pours forth whole floods of vengeance: or else He rains down hell out of heaven, and in a moment turns a land like a garden of God into a dead sea, and a lake of brimstone¹. If He discover himself by any overt expression of his power, though the intention be mere mercy and loving kindness, mortality shrinks from it, and cannot bear it. When his glory descends on Mount Sinai, the people remove, and stand afar off, and—"Let not God speak with us (say they) lest we die:" and "Depart from me, O Lord," saith St. Peter, amazed at that miraculous draught of fishes². How much more should the inhabitants of the world tremble before Him, when his great and sore judgments are in the earth: tremble, thou earth, at the presence of God³ (saith the Psalmist) even when He improves the hard rock into a springing well: much more when a fruitful land He turns into barrenness⁴, or a stately city into ashes, for the wickedness of them that dwell therein. I am horribly afraid, saith David, for the ungodly that forsake thy law⁵; and I exceedingly fear and quake⁶, said Moses, at the giving of it: but when our Lord shall come again to require it, the powers of Heaven shall be shaken too⁷; the angels themselves, (as St. Chrysostom interprets,) though pure and innocent creatures, shall tremble (*θριξουσι*) to see the severity of that judgment⁸. How much rather ought we, wretched creatures that we are, conscious to ourselves of dust and sin, to tremble and quake at the wrath of this dread Lord of the universe; at whose voice alone, the great emperor Caligula runs under the bed⁹; and the mighty Belshazzar's loins are loosed, and his knees knock one against another, when God but writes bitter things against him on the wall¹⁰.

It were a vain affectation, to attempt a description of the

¹ SALVIAN.

² Ex. xx. 18, 19.

³ Luke v. 8.

⁴ Psm. cxiv. 7, 8.

⁵ Psm. cvii. 34.

⁶ Psm. cxix. 53.

⁷ Heb. xii. 21.

⁸ Matt. xxiv. 29.

⁹ Hom. 77, in Matt.

¹⁰ SUTTON. l. v. n. 51.

¹¹ Dan. v. 6.

greatness of our late horrible devastation. This were to be *Ambitiosus in malis*, to chew over all our wormwood and our gall again: this were *Rogum ascipolire*, which the XII. TABLES forbade, to carve and paint the wood of our funeral pile. I shall only call back your thoughts to stand with me upon the prospect of that horrid theatre of the Divine judgments, and say, Come hither, and behold the works of the Lord, what desolation He hath made in the earth¹;—and then who will not join with me to say, upon so convincing an occasion, We humble ourselves under the Almighty hand of God, the Lord of all the world; we adore his power and majesty in lowly prostrations, before whom all the nations of the world are as a drop of the bucket; the globe of the earth, as the small dust of the balance; and who taketh up the isles (even our Great Britains too, as we call them) as a very little thing². Great and marvellous are thy Works, O Lord God Almighty! Who would not fear thee, and glorify thy name, when thy judgments are thus manifest³? Thou hast brought them down that dwell on high, and laid the lofty city low, even to the ground; the joyous city of our solemnities, the royal chamber, the emporium of the world, the mart of nations, the very top-gallant of our glory, in the dust. Even so, Holy Father, for so it seemed good in thy sight⁴. We say not to our God, What doest thou? Wherefore hath the Lord done thus to this great city? We reply not,—we answer not again: The Lord hath spoken; let all the earth keep silence before him. We acknowledge thy hand in it, O our God; we submit to thy good pleasure in it; we wait for thy comfort, and thy salvation in it. We meekly kiss the rod that strikes us: with dying Jacob we desire to worship ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον τῆς ῥάβδου, with perfect resignation, as we are able, leaning and reposing upon the top of this thy severe rod⁵. For shall we receive good at the hand of our God, and shall we not receive evil⁶? It is the same blessed hand that distributes and strikes; and with equal reverence and affection we adore it, whether He opens it wide in bounty, or contracts it close in severity: the one the Divine

¹ Psm. xlv. 8.² Isa. xl. 15.³ Apoc. xv. 3, 4.⁴ Matt. xi. 26.⁵ Heb. xi. 21.⁶ Job ii. 10.

rhetoric to persuade us to learn righteousness, the other his more irrefragable logic, to convince and constrain us. And, therefore, we charge not our Maker foolishly; but meekly accept the punishment of our iniquity. And having thus adored his power (which was the first,) we go on in the next place to acknowledge his justice too; saying, with holy David, Righteous art thou, O Lord, and just are thy judgments¹:—the second part of God's due.

Give Him the glory of his justice, also; and, if you learn no other righteousness in his school, at least learn this, and frankly confess it too. For though God's judgments may be secret, yet they cannot be unjust: like the great deep, indeed, an abyss unfathomable²: but, though we have no plumb-line of reason that can reach it, our faith assures us, there is justice at the bottom. Clouds and darkness are round about Him³, saith the Psalmist; but, as it follows, righteousness and judgment are the habitation of his throne: so much we may easily discern through all the veils and curtains that envelop Him, that justice stands always fast by his judgment seat. And, therefore, though it be a nice and a delicate point to assign the particular sins, for which God hath thus sorely afflicted us; yet must we declare (as we are warranted by sacred authority⁴) that God hath laid his heavy judgment upon us all, as an evidence of his displeasure for our sins in general.

Not to engage in that common theme; we may clear it a little by the light of our own fires (the particular instrument of our calamity) in two or three reflections upon that. God spake his righteous law at first out of the midst of the fire, *Exod. xix. 18.* And He shall appear from heaven again in flaming fire, taking vengeance on them that obey it not⁵, saith the apostle. Now, as the prophet Amos argues, from another circumstance of terror wherewith the law was given, the sound of the trumpet, the first trumpet certainly we ever heard of in any record in the world, as the last trumpet (the apostle tells us) shall be that of the archangel to summon us to account for it⁶, “ Shall a trumpet

¹ Psm. cxix. 137.

² Psm. xxxvi. 6.

³ Psm. xcvi. 2.

⁴ The King's Declaration.

⁵ 2 Thess. i. 8.

⁶ 1 Cor. xv. 52.

be blown (and so, say I, shall a fire be kindled) in the city (nay, a whole city become but one great fire) and the people not be afraid!; shall we not reflect upon our own guiltiness before God, who came at first with a fiery law in his right hand to teach us our duty^a, and shall come again at last with fiery indignation at his left, to devour all those that perform it not^a." Again, fire and water are the two great instruments of God's double vengeance upon the world of the ungodly: the one long since past recorded for our instruction; the other yet to come, the matter (it ought to be, I am sure,) of our continual terror. The world that then was, perished by water, (saith St. Peter,) and the world that is now, is reserved unto fire^b: in the mean time, fire and water, things of commonest use with us, are also the standing metaphors almost in every verse of Scripture, to express God's judgments of all sorts. Is it not on purpose to remind us, whenever we hear the sound, or make use of the things, or feel the smart of either, to reflect upon the heavy wrath of God against sin in his so solemn expressions of it? Once more, fire is the tyrant in nature, the king of the elements, the mighty Nimrod in the material world. God hath given us this active creature for our servant, and we degrade him to the meanest offices, to the drudgery of the kitchen, and the labour of the furnace. But God can enfranchise him when He pleases, and let him loose upon us; and for our sins, of an useful servant, make him to us a rigorous and a tyrannical master. You saw him the other day, when he escaped from all your restraints, mocked all your resistance, scorned the limits you would have set him:—winged with our guilt, he flew triumphant over our proudest heights, waving his curled head, seeming to repeat us that lesson which holy St. Austin taught us long since, That the inferior creatures serve us men, only that we may serve Him, who made both us and them too. If we rebel against Heaven, *Συνεκπολεμήσει ὁ Κόσμος*, saith the wise man, The world shall rise in arms upon us, and fight with Him against the unwise^c. Even the holy fires of the altar too, though kindled from heaven on purpose to propitiate an angry Deity, proved often, through men's provocations,

^a Amos iii. 6.^b Deut. xxxiii. 2.^c Heb. x. 27.^d 2 Pet. iii. 6, 7.^e Wisd. v. 20.

the instruments of his fury: the mercy-seat became the arsenal of vengeance, and from the presence of God himself went forth those flames that devoured his adversaries! And all to teach us this lesson, That it is sin puts the thunder into God's hand, and turns flames of love into a consuming fire.

And therefore dream no longer of grenadoes or fire-balls, or the rest of those witty mischiefs; search no more for *boutefieus* or *incendiaires*, Dutch or French: the Dutch intemperance, and the French pride and vanity, and the rest of their sins we are so fond of, are infinitely more dangerous to us than the enmity of either nation; for these make God our enemy too. Or, if you will needs find out the incendiary, look not abroad: *Intus hostis, intus periculum*, saith St. Jerome. Turn your eyes inward into your own bosoms; there lurks the great make-bate, the grand *boutefieu* between heaven and us. Trouble not yourselves with planetary aspects, or great conjunctions; but for your own oppositions, direct and diametrical to God and his holy law. Fear not the signs of heaven, but the sins on earth, which hath made a separation between you and your God. It is injurious to the sweet influences of the stars, to charge them with such dire effects, as wars, and pestilences, and conflagrations: *Divinæ justitiæ opera hæc, sunt* (saith the Father) *et humanæ injustitiæ*. These are the products of God's righteousness upon our unrighteousness. Wherefore glorify we God in these our fires, saying with the prophet, Righteousness belongeth to thee, O Lord, but unto us confusion of faces, as it is this day, because of our manifold trespasses that we have trespassed against thee¹.

If yet it be expected I should be more particular, in assigning the very sins that have occasioned this heavy judgment, it is a slippery place, and hard to keep firm footing in it. The mysterious text of God's holy providence (as I said before) is dark and obscure; and so much the more, because there are so many interpreters, (for though there be no infallible judge of the sense of it, yet all fingers itch to be doing,) their conjecture so various and full of contradiction, so tinted and debauched with private prejudice, that they do but *στρεβλοῦν*, wrest it unskilfully, as they do the other holy text, *convertunt in mentem suam* (as the

¹ Dan. ix. 7.

Ethiopic turns that place in St. Peter), torture, and torment it, till it confess their own sense¹. As for the many spiteful and unrighteous glosses upon the sad text of our present calamity (on which every faction amongst us hath a revelation, hath an interpretation); I will not mention, much less imitate them. *Justus accusator sui*², saith the wise man. It is a righteous thing for every man to suspect himself, to look first into the plague of his own heart, and to be ready to say with the disciples, Master, is it not I? We are all over-apt to charge one another foolishly enough; to take St. Peter's counsel, *Ἰλασσομαι*, to be kind and favourable to ourselves in our interpretations and censures; but God, methinks, at present seems to accuse us all.

When a judgment is particular and reacheth but a few, we have a savage promptness in condemning the sufferers, with, This is God's just judgment for such a thing, which we, it seems, like not, though perhaps God himself doth. So long as the thunder-bolt flies over our own heads, we hug ourselves, and all is well; it is our dear pastime, and a high voluptuousness to sit and censure others, and flatter ourselves that we are more righteous than they. To meet with this ill-humour, God hath reached us now an universal stroke that comes home to every man: so that it is as our prophet states it, in the beginning of this sermon, As with the prince and the priest, (for *כֹּהֵן* is both) so with the people; as with the master and the mistress, so with the servant; as with the buyer, and the borrower, so with the seller and the lender³. In fine, he is no Englishman that feels not this blow: and, therefore, as the judgment is universal, let us give glory to God, and confess, that the sin is so too; saying with the good Nehemiah, Thou art just, O God, in all that is brought upon us; on our king, and on our princes; on our priests, and on our prophets; on our fathers, and on all thy people; for Thou hast done right, but we have all done wickedly⁴. God give us grace to take every one the shame that belongs properly to himself, and to join heartily together in a full chorus at the last, repeating that excellent exomologesis of holy David, with which I began this point, and shall now conclude it,—“Righteous art thou, O

¹ 2 Pet. iii. 16.² Prov. xviii. 17.³ Chap. xxiv. 2.⁴ Chap. ix. 32, 33.

Lord, and just are thy judgments." But there is another yet behind—

Lastly, Give God the glory of his mercy too¹; that must in nowise be forgotten. It is the privilege and prerogative of mercy, that it mixeth itself in all God's works; even in justice itself too. He sendeth forth lightnings with the rain, (saith the Psalmist,) He bringeth the winds out of his treasures². Strange furniture, one would think, for a treasury, storms and tempest! But there is so very much of mercy even in God's judgments too, that they also deserve a place amongst his treasures, aye, and amongst ours too. For He licenseth not a wind, or a storm, lets not fly a flash of lightning, or a ball of fire, but a mercy goes along with it; comes flying to us (if we miss it not by our negligence or inadvertency) upon the wings of that wind; and discovers itself to us even by the light of those fires. And, therefore, turn not away your eyes in horror, but study the late conflagration: and even in the dust and ashes of our city, if we sift and examine them well, we may find rich treasures of mercy hidden.

1. Mercy, first, that God spared and preserved us so long. For without his divine manutency, our strongest fabrics had fallen immediately upon their very builders; He that made all things at first, by preserving makes them still; now makes them every moment; and for his will's sake alone they were and are created. He carries nature always in his bosom, fostering and cherishing her; and that not only as she came out of his own hand, and bears the impresses of his infinite wisdom and power; but as we have transformed and disguised her by our petty skill; as she is fettered and shackled by our silly artifices: even the world of fancy too, the poor attempts and bunglings of art, our houses of dirt and clay (which we call palaces and so please ourselves in) would quickly fall asunder, and moulder all into the dust they consist of, did not an Almighty hand uphold them. If He keep not the house and the city, in vain the builder builds, and the watchman wakes, and the sentinel stands *perdu*. And, therefore, give we Him the glory of his mercy, saying, Thanks be

¹ S. AMBROSE. *Suo jure omnibus Dei operibus superingreditur et supernatat.*

² Psm. cxxxv. 7.

to the Lord, who so long showed us marvellous great kindness¹, I say not, with the psalm, in a strong city (though the strongest without Him is weakness) but in a very weak one: a city in the meanness of the materials, the oldness of the buildings, the straitness of some streets, the ill situations of others, and many like inconveniences, so exposed to this dismal accident, that it must needs have been long since in ashes, had not his miraculous mercy preserved it, who, so long as He pleaseth, (and that is just so long as we please Him,) continues the fire to us useful and safe, serviceable and yet innocent, with as much ease as He lays it asleep and quiet in the bosom of a flint.

2. Mercy again, that He afflicts us at all; that we are yet in His school²; that He hath not quite given us over, and turned us out as unteachable and incorrigible. *Felix cui Deus dignatur irasci*³; saith Tertullian; in David's language, Blessed is the man whom thou chastenest, O Lord, and teachest him in thy law; sendest him thy judgments, and learnest him thy righteousness. But to sin, and not be punished, is the sorest punishment of all, saith St. Chrysostom. *Dimisit eos secundum desideria cordis*⁴, He suffered them to walk after their own hearts' lusts—that is a dreadful portion: let them alone, why should they be stricken any more⁵? That is the prosperity of fools that destroys them⁶, as Solomon; or as David phraseth it, This is for God to rain snares upon the ungodly⁷: a horrible tempest indeed, as he there calls it, and worse than the fire and brimstone in the same verse.

3. Mercy, too; that He afflicts us himself, keeps us still under His own discipline, and hath not yet given us over unto the will of our adversaries. The hand of an enemy poisons the wound: his malice or his insolence doubles and trebles the vexation. The malignity of the instrument may envenom a scratch into a gangrene. But the blessed hand of God, even when it strikes, drops balsam. His very rods are bound up in silk and softness, and dipt beforehand in balm: He wounds that He may heal, and in wounding heals: *Una eademque manus vulnus opemque*—and

¹ Psm. xxxi. 21.

² Psm. xciv. 12.

³ Ἡ μεγάλη κόλασις τὸ ἁμαρτανεῖν
καὶ μὴ κολάζεσθαι.

⁴ Psm. lxxxi. 12.

⁵ Isa. i. 5.

⁶ Prov. i. 32.

⁷ Psm. xi. 6.

therefore may we never be beaten by the hand of a cruel and insulting slave; but let our righteous Lord himself smite us¹, and it shall be a kindness; let Him correct us, and it shall be an excellent oil. O let us still fall into the hands of God (for great are His mercies,) but let us not fall into the hands of men².

4. Mercy, lastly, in the degree of the affliction; that He hath punished us less than our iniquities deserve; afflicted us in measure; corrected us in judgment, not in his fury, for then we had been utterly brought to nothing: that we have had our lives for a prey, and are so many firebrands plucked out of the burning. And, therefore, why should a living man complain? Say we rather as Abraham did in the case of Sodom, when he had that horrible scene of vengeance now in his eye, we are but dust and ashes³. Not only dust in the course of ordinary frailty, but ashes too in the merit of a far sharper doom; deserve that God should bring us to dust, nay, even turn us to ashes too as our houses. It is of the Lord's mercies that we ourselves also are not consumed, because His compassions fail not⁴; that any part of our city is still remaining; that God hath left us yet a holy place to assemble in, solemnly to acknowledge (as we do this day) His most miraculous mercy: that when all our wit was puzzled, and all our industry tired out, when the wind was at the highest, and the fire at the hottest, and all our hopes were now giving up the ghost, then He, whose season is our greatest extremity, He, who stayeth His rough wind in the day of the east wind⁵, as it is in the next chapter; He, who alone sets bounds to the rage of the waters, restrained also on the sudden the fury of this other merciless and unruly element, by the interposition of his almighty *hucusque*, hitherto shalt thou go, and no further. Aye, this deserves, indeed, to be the matter of a song: joy in the Lord upon so great an occasion, upon so noble an experience, sits not unhandsome on the brow of so sad a day as this is. It shall be said in that day, (saith our prophet, and let us all say it; say it with triumph and jubilee too,) Lo, this is our God, we have waited for Him, and He hath saved us; this is the Lord, we will

¹ Psm. cxli. 5.

² 2 Sam. xxiv. 14.

³ Gen. xviii. 27.

⁴ Lam. iii. 22.

⁵ Chap. xxvii. 8.

be glad, and rejoice in his salvation¹. The third and last part (we shall mention) of God's due, the glory of His mercy.

And now having thus cleared and secured the fountain of righteousness, in the discharge of some part of our duty to God, (where regularly it must begin;) it remains, *Ut ducatur rivus justitiæ de fonte pietatis*, as St. Gregory speaks: it must not be a fountain sealed or shut up within itself: (religion is not, as some would have it, a supersedeas to common honesty; the performing our duty towards God, no discharge of our duty to man:) in the next place it should run down like a river², in mighty streams of righteousness to all our neighbours round about us; the other great branch, the second table, or (if you will,) the other hemisphere in this great globe of righteousness. And here, *Eccæ novas Hyadas, aliumque Oriona*—so many new asterisms and constellations of virtues appear, that the time will not give leave to number them, or call them all by their names. I can only touch lightly the greater circles, some of the more comprehensive lines and measures of them, in these few generals, and so pass on.

1. It is righteousness indefinitely, first, and so universally. So that it will not be sufficient to take forth some part of it in God's school, a line or two, it may be, of our great lesson, and neglect the rest; to study some one page or paragraph, and tear all the book besides; to break the tables (to far worse effect than Moses did) and content ourselves with some sorry fragment: no, whatever goes under the common style of universal justice; whatever falls within the large bosom of that comprehensive epitome, into which our Lord himself abridged the law and the prophets, All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do even so to them³; whatever comes within compass of that νόμος βασιλικός, as St. James calls it, the *royal law*⁴, (the latter part of the holy institutes, the other tome of the Christian pandects, the second great commandment like the first, as our Saviour styles it,) Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself⁵; even all the offices and instances of duty between man and man; (reverence and obedience to our superiors; courtesy

¹ Chap. xxv. 9.

² Amos v. 24.

³ Matt. vii. 12.

⁴ Jam. ii. 8.

⁵ Matt. xxii. 38, 39.

and humanity to our equals ; kindness and condescension to our inferiors ; gratitude and thankfulness to our benefactors ; justice and upright dealing towards all ; truth in our words, and faithfulness in our trusts, and constancy to our promises, and candour, and sincerity and honesty in all our actions : and yet further and higher, for it is a righteousness improved and heightened, or at least interpreted by our Lord into love, and so obligeth us beyond the strict measures of common justice, and not only renders what is legally due, but gives and forgives beyond it ;) equity and moderation to those that are any ways obnoxious to us ; mildness and gentleness to those that have any way offended us ; sympathy and compassion towards them that suffer ; mercy and bounty to them that need ; goodness and peaceableness, and charity to all the world : these are all parts of this great lesson, and whatever else may help to denominate us the righteous nation that keepeth the truth, (as it is in the second verse of this chapter,) or the city in which dwells righteousness.

2. But then as it is righteousness indefinitely, the commandment exceeding broad¹, as David speaks, wide in the extension ; so it is also as deep in the intention, it is righteousness internally and spiritually too ; as being a righteousness taught us by God's, and not by man's, judgments only, and consequently must have an effect proportionable : it is *When thy judgments are in the earth, men will learn.*—As the Jews, while their fear towards God was taught them by the precepts of men, drew near to Him, and honoured Him with their mouth only, but removed their hearts far away from Him, Isai. xxix. 13 ; upon the same ground, our righteousness will never exceed the righteousness of Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites ; must needs prove noise and appearance only, a mere and vain semblance, if we learn it in no higher school than man's : take it forth from the twelve tables only, not from the two, and have no other tutor in it than Solon, or Lycurgus, or Justinian. For the derivation can return no higher than the fountain-head ; and what is taught us only by the statutes of Omri, or at Cæsar's judgment-seat, will never come up to what the perfect law of God requires. While we are under this lower and external discipline only, if we can but

¹ Psal. cxix. 96.

skulk and shift, and play least in sight, and seem to be righteous, though we are not so; *recti in curiâ*, though not upright in heart: or if we be discovered and impleaded too, if we can, whether by power or artifice, break through the venerable cob-web, and run under the miserable shelter of a temporal indemnity at these lower bars; why all is well; with Solomon's wanton¹ we wipe our mouths, and are suddenly very virgins again, not only safe, but innocent too. But, though human laws exact only outward compliances, assume not to themselves to judge the heart, because they cannot discern it, nor take cognizance of secret thoughts and purposes, further than they are declared by overt acts; yet God is a spirit, and a discerner of the inmost thoughts and intentions; and His law spiritual too, and given to the spirit; and the righteousness taught in His school is not a carcass, nor an outside only, but a living soul, and a spirit of righteousness: and by consequence it stays not in the outward act, (the proper object of human laws and provisions;) restrains not only open violences (such as the judgment-seat of man condemns, and the scaffold or the gibbet take notice of;) not only smoothes and polishes the outside garb, to render that plausible in the eyes of the world: but goes yet further and deeper, even to the heart; composeth the whole inner man too, and labours to approve that to the righteous Judge, who sees not as man sees; and, in fine, calls us up to that glorious height of the primitive Christians in Justin Martyr, who obeyed indeed the municipal laws of their country, but outlived them too, and surmounted them far, *Tôis Bíois idíois νικῶντες τοὺς νόμους*, as he speaks; they contented not themselves with so scant measures, but flew a higher and a nobler pitch, aiming at a more refined and perfect righteousness, the worthy effect of God's judgments, and not of man's only; taught in His school alone, and not at our tribunals. And then,

Lastly. It is righteousness positively, and affirmatively too. For though the decalogue is almost all over negative in the style and form of it; yet, our Lord, by reducing all the precepts of it to one affirmative (love), and also by his affirmative glosses or additions to it in his sermon on the mount, seems to have autho-

¹ Prov. xxx. 20.

rized the rule of their exposition, received generally by Christian divines, that the negative still infers the affirmative, and that there are many yeas concealed in the bosom of every such no. So that, however it is indeed a part of our duty, not to murder, and not to slander, and not to covet, and the like, (an obligation consequent upon God's prohibition: and He takes it well, when, for His sake, we abstain from the evil we are inclined or strongly solicited to, and so accepts graciously our very nothing, as I may call it, our not doing amiss; thus giving us leave to enclose, as it were, a part of our waste, and to raise some revenue upon it :) yet this is so much short of the height of the lesson we are to learn in God's school, that it is only the unlearning something that might obstruct it; so far from making us truly righteous, that it can only style us innocent, and set us *extra vitia* rather than *intra virtutem*. We must not then content ourselves with a negative righteousness; nor confine and limit it within the sorry bounds of the pharisaical boast, that we are not, as other men are, extortioners or unjust¹: in some cases, he is unjust too that gives not his own, as well as he that takes away what is another's²: in the sacred dialect, alms-deeds are justice too; even acts of mercy and bounty to those that need them, *stricti juris*, a part of our righteousness sometimes so indispensable, as not to be omitted without sin. And therefore glorify thyself no longer, that thou doest harm to no man:

———— Cum dicis stultum, qui donat amico,
 Qui paupertatem levat, attollitque propinqui,
 Et spoliare doces —————³

could the heathen poet say: he robs his neighbour that relieves him not: he spoils his friend, that in some cases doth not supply him. And though it is well (a good decree) if we can say with St. Paul, I have wronged no man⁴; yet he only is perfectly blameless in this kind, *Qui ne in eo quidem ulli noceat, quod prodesse desistat*, as St. Jerome⁵ excellently; who doth not this evil to his neighbour, that he omits to do him all the good he can. Thou didst not burn thy neighbour's house (a strange piece of

¹ Luke xviii. 11.

² Psm. cxlii. 9. Isai. lviii. 7, 8.

³ JUVENAL. *Sat.* xiv.

⁴ 2 Cor. vii. 2.

⁵ Lib. 1. *Epist.* 14 ad Celantiam.

uncouth righteousness !) but dost thou receive him into thy own, now he is harbourless ? Thou hast not oppressed or impoverished thy brother ; it is well ; but is thy abundance the supply of his want in this present exigence ? thy superfluity the ransom and redemption of his extreme necessities ? If not, remember that Dives is in torments, not for robbing Lazarus, but for not relieving him¹ : and the dreadful decretory sentence proceeds, at the last day, not for oppressing the poor, but for not feeding, not clothing, not visiting them : a reflection very common, indeed, yet never more proper or seasonable than at this time when God presents us an object of charity, the greatest, I think, and the most considerable that was ever offered to this nation, and when heaven and earth expect that something extraordinary should be done.

I have now opened the book, and laid it before you, and given you a short draught of this very important lesson : a lesson so considerable, that our wise and good God thinks it worth his while to rout armies, and sink navies, to burn up cities, and turn kingdoms upside down ; to send wars, and plagues, and conflagrations amongst us ; to set open all his schools, and ply all his severest methods to teach it us the more effectually. Think now that He looks down this day from heaven, to take notice of our proficiency ; to see how far we are advanced by these his judgments in learning righteousness. And is it possible we should stand out any longer ? Can we still resist so powerful a grace ? Are not the parts of the text by this time happily met together ; and the truth of it accomplished and exemplified in us to the full ? God's judgments on us, and his righteousness in us ? Who would not think and hope so ? But as St. Jerome complains of his age (which was indeed very calamitous) *Orbis Romanus ruit, et tamen cervix nostra non flectitur* : the world sinks and cracks about our ears, and yet our neck as stiff, and the crest of our pride as lofty and as erect as ever. How few are they that repent in dust and ashes, even now, that God hath laid our city in dust, and our houses in ashes ! Look we first upon the text, and then upon ourselves, and we must ingenuously acknowledge, that whatever abatements or diminutions to the height of the designed

¹ Luke xvi.

event of God's judgments upon us the text, or any version of it, note, or imply, our wretched evil lives do but too plainly express and justify. For—

1. Who are they that are said here to learn righteousness in the text? Not always the afflicted themselves, it seems; but some others that stand by and look on. For it is not to be omitted, that the phrase manifestly varies in the parts of the proposition: *Judgments in the earth*, or upon the land, some particular country; and the *world* at large, or some few in it, *learn righteousness*. Thus Tyrus shall be devoured with fire¹, saith the prophet: Ashkelon shall see it, and fear; Gaza and Ekron shall be very sorrowful: but not a word how Tyrus herself is affected. God forbid it should be so with us! May it never be said, that any of our neighbours make better use of our calamities, than we ourselves! Have we any so hard-hearted amongst us, that can look upon so sad a spectacle, as if they sate all the while in the theatre, or walked in a gallery of pictures; little more concerned than at the siege of Rhodes, or the ruins of Troy? Shall any neighbour-city say wisely—*Mea res agitur, jam proximus ardet Ucalegon* ——? Shall our enemies themselves, (the sober and the wise amongst them, at the least,) tremble at the relation, and we continue stupid and senseless? Shall Constantinople and Alexandria resent it, and we not regard it as we ought? Nay, shall China and Peru, (it may be) Surat and Mexico, both the Indies hear, and be affected with it, and we ourselves insensible? Shall the inhabitants of the world abroad warm themselves at our fires, with kindly and holy heats; while in the mean time, our repentings are not kindled, nor our charity inflamed, and our devotion as cold and frozen as ever? Shall our mountain (which we said, in our jolly pride, should never be removed) be fulminated and thunderstruck, but the blessed shower that follows, the instruction that descends after, like the rain, slide off to the valleys, to others that are round about us? Our Lord wept over Jerusalem², because she knew not then (at forty years' distance) the time of her visitation; for the days will come, saith He, when there shall not be left one stone upon another; but, wo is me! our day is come already, and our visita-

¹ Zech. ix. 4, 5.

² Luke xix. 41.

tion now actually upon us; and yet, I fear, we will not know it, as we ought. For—

2. Reflect a little upon the tense of the verb, how that varies too, in the parts of the proposition: the judgments *are* in the earth, and the inhabitants *will* learn—(so the vulgar Latin and the English,) it is still *per verba de futuro*. For we list not to handfast ourselves to God Almighty, to make ourselves over to Him, by present deed of gift; but would fain, forsooth, bequeath ourselves to Him, a legacy, in our last will and testament. Aye, but *in necessitatibus nemo liberalis*: it is not a free or a noble donation, which we bestow, when we can keep it no longer to ourselves: for such a bequest, we may thank death, rather than the testator, saith St. Chrysostom. But we are all Clinicks¹ in this point; would fain have a baptism in reserve, a wash for all our sins, when we cannot possibly commit them any more. Like Felix, the unjust governor, when St. Paul reasons of righteousness², our heads begin to ache, and presently we adjourn, with, Go thy way for this time, *Καὶρὸν δὲ μεταλαμβάντες*, (as he pretended,) when we have time and opportunity, and convenient leisure, (which we read not that he ever found;) in plain English, when we have nothing else to do, or can do nothing else, then we will take forth this lesson;—learn righteousness, as Cato did Greek, *jam septuagenarius*, just when we are a dying;—begin, then, to con our part when we are ready to be hissed off the stage, and death is now pulling off our properties. But take we heed in time: he may prove a false prophet, that promiseth himself to die the death of the righteous, when he hath loved and pursued the ways and wages of unrighteousness all his life long: who thinks, if he can but shape the last faint breath he draws into a formal pretence of forgiving all the world, and a sly desire of being forgiven; upon these two hangs the whole stress of his righteousness; he goes out of God's school upon fair terms, and thinks to render a plausible account of himself. No, no; the great lesson of the text is harder and deeper than so: it is that we must sweat for, it is that we may bleed for: it is all that Adam lost, and all that Christ came to recover: it is the business of our whole life, and it is desperate folly and madness to defer to learn it

¹ Τῷ θανάτῳ χάρις, οὐ. Hom. xvii. in Ephes.

² Acts xxiv. 25.

till death, when God now calls us to account for it. Though the verb in some versions be future (as I said) yet still it is *discent habitatores*, we must learn it while we dwell here in the world, and who can secure us that beyond the next moment? When once we remove hence, there is no school beyond: the Platonic *Eruditorum* in Origen (a place under ground, I know not where, in which separated souls are supposed to learn what they missed of, or neglected here) as very a fable as the Platonic purgatory. As there is no work, nor labour; so no device nor knowledge, nor wisdom in the grave¹. The schools are all in this world; all beyond is prison, and dungeon, and place of torment, for such as learn not their duty here; fire without light, and utter darkness.

3. Again, *They did learn* (so the Syriac, and the interlineary Latin) *when thy judgments were in the earth*: for there is an ellipsis in the original of the former clause, and the verb substantive may be supplied either way, when thy judgments *are* or *were* in the earth: and the conjunction may seem to stand fair for the latter וְכַמֶּדֶת in *quantum*, or *juxta quod*; עַל-כֵּן (as R. David glosseth it) *qua mensura, aut modo*; and so the Syriac, *Qualia judicia, talem justitiam didicerunt*; so much judgment, so much justice; righteousness they *did* learn, just while God's rod was over them and no longer. Thus, while God's plagues lay heavy upon Pharaoh, even that stiff neck bowed, and that hard heart was softened; as iron in a quick fire relents and melts, but take it out of the furnace, and it grows hard again, nay, worse, churlish, and unmalleable: and so he, when he saw that there was respite, saith the text, or a breathing time, he hardened his heart. Exod. viii. 15. And do not we all the same? Like teeming women, while the pangs are upon us, we have sorrow²; when some great affliction gives us a smart visit, strikes home and deep, we seem to be a little sensible: aye, but the throes once over, ($\text{οὐκ ἔτι μνημονεύει}$, saith our Lord) the woman remembers them no more; and so we. If, but for a little space grace be showed us, if God gives us but a little respite in our bondage, like Israel newly returned from Babel, we straight forget His commandments; which made the good Ezra ashamed, and blush to lift up his face to heaven: Ezra chap. ix. ver. 6—10.

¹ Eccles. ix. 10.

² John xvi. 21.

Happy we, if as Pliny¹ adviseth his friend Maximus, *Tales esse sani perseveremus, quales futuros profitemur infirmi*; if we continue such in health as we promise to be upon our sick beds. But, alas! *Convaluit; mansit, ut ante*. How few with David pay the vows which they spake with their mouths when they were in trouble? Do not the engagements on the sick bed vanish, like the dreams of the sick, forgotten, as if they had never been? I appeal to your own bosoms; though affected at first with this late dismal accident, doth it not prove to you a nine-days' wonder, and your thoughts, though much startled at first, by degrees reconcile to it? Do not your devotions begin to grow cold with the fires; raked up like those dying sparks in dead ashes, and buried in the dust;—*Ignes suppositi cineri doloso*? Just as our prophet states it here, *While thy judgments were upon them, they learned*; but as it follows immediately, *Fiat gratia impio*², Let favour be showed to the wicked, the least intermission or kind interval, and he will not learn righteousness, saith the text expressly; he soon lays by his book, and gives over. But,—

4. Lastly, what is it that we learn? Or, to what good end or purpose? The Chaldee paraphrast interposeth here a very material and operative word, *Discent operari*, they will learn לַמַּעַל to do, or to work righteousness. And this addition shows us another of our defects; cuts off, I fear, above half the roll of our learners at once. We live (as I said) in a learned age: but in all this crowd and throng of learners, how few put themselves in good earnest into God's school? And of them that do, how much fewer yet take forth their lesson aright?—Learn anything else they will, but not righteousness; and, if that, anything, but to do it! But this is not *ὀρθοτομεῖν*, rightly to divide; this is to mangle the text, and to saw Isaiah asunder again. Would learning, or talking, or pretending serve the turn, we might find righteousness enough in the world: we can define it, and distinguish it, criticize upon the word, and dispute of the thing without end: we stuff our heads with the notion, and tip our tongues with the language, and fill the world with our pretences to it: but, Little children³, saith St. John, (O ye world of

¹ Lib. vii. Ep. 27.

² Psm. LXvi. 14.

³ Verse 10.

⁴ 1 John iii. 7.

learners) be not deceived, (let no man seduce you into this piece of gnosticism, as if to learn, or to know, were sufficient; no,) 'Ο ποιῶν, he that doth righteousness, he is righteous. *Non fortia loquimur, sed vivimus*, saith St. Cyprian: the life of religion is doing. What we know, we must practise too: Whereto we have already attained, we must walk in it, saith the apostle¹. They that followed Christ, were first indeed called disciples², that is learners, (for there we must begin;) but they soon after commenced Christians at Antioch, anointed to action, as the word implies; and this name sticks by them still, as the more essential. Their oil must not be spent all in the lamp, *in scholâ sapientiæ*, that they may shine by knowledge; they must do their exercises, too, *in gymnasio justitiæ*, be anointed to the *Agon*, and to the combat (as the champions of old); and, if they expect the crown of righteousness, must not only learn righteousness, but learn to do it.

And therefore (to shut up all, and to enforce it a little upon such topics as the text and the sad face of things amongst us suggest); let us no longer trifle with God Almighty, now we find to our cost, that He is in good earnest with us. Be not deceived; God, I am sure, is not mocked. It is not our fasting and looking demure a little, and hanging down the head, like a bullrush, for a day; it is not a few grimaces of sorrow, a sad word or two, or a weeping eye, will serve the turn: our hearts must bleed, too, our souls must be afflicted, and mourn for our old unrighteousnesses, and forsake them, too, and renounce them all for ever; and yet, further, take forth new lessons of righteousness in all holy conversations and godlinesses³, as St. Peter speaks, even in all the instances of piety, and justice, and charity, ye heard of even now, or all this holy discipline of God is lost and spent in vain upon us. For, this is all the fruit⁴, saith our prophet, to take away sin: if that remain still in us, adversity is a bitter cup indeed. To keep our sins, and hold them fast, even when God's judgments are upon us for them—this is with Copronymus, to pollute the fountain that should wash us, to defile the salutary waters of affliction, to profane the holy fires of God's furnace, and

¹ Phil. iii. 16.

² Acts xi. 26.

³ 2 Pet. iii. 11.

⁴ Chap. xxvii. 9.

to pass through the fire to Moloch, to some reigning and domineering sin, some tyrant lust, or mistress-passion. Correction without instruction, this is the scourge of asses, not the discipline of men, nor the rod of the sons of men. To suffer much, and not to be at all the better for it, it is certainly one of the saddest portions that can befall us in this world; if not the foreboding and prognostic of a far sadder yet to come, the very beginnings of hell here, the foretastes of that cup of bitterness, of which the damned suck out the dregs.

And wilt thou, after all this, hide the sweet morsel under thy tongue, when thou sensibly perceivest it already turning into the gall of asps?—Still long for the delicious portion consecrated, and snatch it greedily from God's altars, though thou seest thy fingers burn, and thy nest on fire with it? Still retain the old complacency in thy sparkling cup, though thou feelest it already biting like a serpent, and stinging like an adder? Say still, *Stolen waters are sweet*¹, though like those bitter ones of jealousy, thou perceivest them carry a curse along with them into thy very bowels? Dare we thus provoke the Lord to jealousy? Are we stronger than He²? Gird up now thy loins like a man³, thou stoutest and gallantest of the sons of earth. Hast thou an arm like God? Or canst thou thunder with a voice like Him? Wilt thou set the briars and thorns of the wilderness against Him in battle array? Or canst thou dwell with everlasting burnings⁴? Or despisest thou the riches of his goodness and forbearance; not knowing (refusing to know) that the long-suffering of our Lord is salvation⁵, and that his goodness leadeth thee to repentance⁶? If not, know assuredly, that thy hardness and impenitent heart do but treasure up for thee yet a fiercer and more insupportable wrath.

And, therefore, let us not flatter ourselves, nor think that God hath now emptied his quiver, and spent all his artillery upon us; let us not come forth delicately with the foolish Agag, saying, Surely the bitterness of death is past⁷: no, the dregs of the cup

¹ Prov. ix. 17.

² 1 Cor. x. 22.

³ Job xxviii. 3.

⁴ Isa. xxxiii. 14.

⁵ 2 Pet. iii. 15.

⁶ Rom. ii. 4.

⁷ 1 Sam. xv. 32.

of fury are still behind ; God grant we be not forced at last to drink them, and suck them up. Great plagues remain for the ungodly¹, saith the Psalmist. *Væ unum abiit ; ecce duo veniunt.* One woe is past, but behold there come two woes more ; for the rest of men that were not killed by the former plagues repented not. Apoc. ix. 12, 20. When God's rods and his *ferulas* (the discipline of children) are contemned, He hath a lash of scorpions to scourge the obstinate. When the ten dreadful plagues are spent all upon a stubborn Egypt without effect, there is a Red Sea yet in reserve, that at last swallows all : and, if our present afflictions reform us not, that we sin no more, take we heed, lest yet a worse thing befall us. Remember, that when the touch of God's little finger did not terrify us, He soon made us feel the stroke of his heavy hand. If the more benign and benedict medicines will not work ; nor stir us at all, He can prepare us a rougher receipt, or a stronger dose ; retrieve and bring back his former judgments in a sharper degree, or else send upon us new ones, which we never dreamt of.

The devil of rebellion and disobedience, which not long since possessed the nation, rent and tore it till it foamed again, and pined away in lingering consumptions ; that cast it oft-times into the fire, and oft-times into the water (calamities of all sorts) to destroy it ; is now, through God's mercies, cast out, and we seem to sit quiet and sober at the feet of our deliverer, clothed, and in our right minds again. But yet this ill spirit, this restless fury (this unquiet and dreadful Alastor, the eldest son of Nemesis, and heir-apparent to all the terrors and mischiefs of his mother) walks about day and night, seeking rest, and finds none ; and he saith, in his heart, I will return some time or other to my house from whence I came out. O let us take heed of provoking that God, who alone chains up his fury, lest for our sins He permit him to return once more with seven other spirits more wicked than himself, and so our last estate prove worse than the former.

The sword of the angel of death, which the last year cut down almost a hundred thousand of us, may seem to have been glutted with our blood, and to have put up itself into the scabbard. *Quiesce et sile*², as the prophet speaks : God grant it may rest

¹ Psm. xxxii. 10.

² Jer. xlvii. 6.

here, and be still. But, as it follows there, how can it be quiet, if the Lord give it a new commission against us? Methinks I see the hand still upon the guard, and, unless we prevent it by our speedy repentance, it may quickly be drawn again more terrible than ever, new furbished, and whetted with the keener edge and point our wretched ingratitude must needs have given it. The Sun of Righteousness was ready to rise upon us, with healing in his wings, to clear our heaven again, and to scatter the cloud of the last year's unhealthiness. But yet, methinks, this slow moving cloud hangs over our heads, hovers yet in view, with God knows how many plagues and deaths in the bosom of it: and, without our serious amendment, we have no rainbow to assure us, that we shall not again be drenched in that horrible tempest. Though the best naturalists say¹, "that great public fires are a proper remedy for the plague," yet God, if He be angry, can send a ruffling wind into the very ashes of our city, blow them into the air, and turn them, as those of the Egyptian furnace, into a blain, and a blotch², and a plague-sore upon us.

Nay, even out of those dead ashes can He raise yet a fiercer flame, to consume what still remains. As the lightning cometh out of the East, saith our Lord, and shineth even unto the West, so shall my coming be, (that is, to destroy Jerusalem,) and wherever the carcase is, will the eagles be gathered together. Matth. xxiv. Fire is the eagle in nature; nothing in the elementary world mounts so high to its place, and stoops so low to its prey: the two properties God himself ascribes to that bird, Job xxxix. 27, 30. And, if we still refuse obstinately to be gathered like chickens under our Lord's wing, He can again let loose this bird of prey, this eagle of heaven, upon us; and from the East, where it began before, fly it home like lightning, *εως δυσμῶν*, even to the utmost West, to seize and to devour wherever there is the least quarry remaining.

Or, if this move us not, let us remember that we have another city upon the waters, a floating town of moveable forts and castles, the walls and bulwarks of the nation; stronger than those of brass the fable speaks of. As we desire that God would ever fill their sails with prosperous gales, and still bring them home

¹ DIAMERBE. de Peste Noviomag.

² Exod. ix. 8, 9.

with honour and victory and good success; let us take heed that we fight not against them too. Our sin, like a talent of lead, may sink them to the bottom; our lusts, and passions, and animosities may fire them; our drunkenness, and deep excesses may drown them; our volleys of oaths and blasphemies may pierce them; nay, our seditious murmurings, and privy whisperings may blow them over. For God is *Piorum rupes, reorum scopulus*; a rock to found the just upon, but a shelf to shipwreck and confound the unrighteous.

And yet all these are but the common roads and ordinary instances of God's displeasures: but He hath also, besides, and beyond all these, unknown treasures of wrath, vast stores of hidden judgments (for who knows the power, or the extent of his anger¹?) laid up in those secret magazines where his judgments are, when they are not in the earth, reserved as his dreadful artillery against the time of trouble, against the day of battle and war, as He speaks himself, Job xxxviii. 23. Oh let us take heed of treasuring up to ourselves wrath against that day of wrath, and the revelation of is righteous judgments².

And now what shall I say more, if all that hath been said hitherto, prove ineffectual? The text affords yet one expedient, as the Chaldee paraphrast may seem to have understood it: Because thy judgment, saith he, (not מִשְׁפֵּט as in the Hebrew, but דִּינָא or דִּינָא רַבָּא as the Jews call it, and St. Jude from them, the judgment of the great day³;) because that judgment, though not as yet in the earth, is yet fixed, and appointed, and prepared for all the earth (לְאֶרֶץ in the Hebrew itself, too, *for* rather than *in* the earth), therefore most certainly, if at all, or for anything, the inhabitants of the world will learn righteousness.

But, if they put far from them this evil day too, as if they had made a covenant with death and with hell; if they finally refuse to come under God's discipline, and to take forth to themselves lessons of righteousness here, they shall then be made themselves great lessons and dreadful examples of God's righteousness to all the world. If they will not glorify God in these fires, as they ought, nor walk in the light of them; let them

¹ Psm. xc. 11.² Rom. ii. 5.³ Jude 6.

remember that there are fires without light, where none glorify Him, but by suffering the eternal vengeance of their sins. There must they learn by saddest experience, who obstinately refuse the more gainful method, *ὅτι φοβερὸν ἐμπροσθεῖν*, that it is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of a living God. For our enemies here must die, and our storms at last blow over, and our fires, you see, though never so great, in time go out and vanish : but God lives ; hath a worm, too, that dies not (for those that live not as they ought) and a fire that is not quenched : the Babylonian furnace, seven times hotter than usual, a cool walk to that ; all our Vulcans and Ætnas, our Heclas and Andes, faint types and shadows of it ; the great conflagration we so lately trembled at, and still bewail, but a spark to that infernal Tophet, but a painted fire to that dreadful Mongibel ; even everlasting burnings. From which God of his tender mercy deliver us all ; and give us grace in this our day (the day of his judgments) so to learn righteousness, and so to do it, that at the last and great day of judgment, when He shall come again to account with us for all our learning, and for all our doings, we may, through his mercy, receive the crown of righteousness, for His sake alone, who so dearly bought it for us, even Jesus Christ the Righteous : to whom, with the Father, and the Holy Ghost, be ascribed by us, and all the creatures in heaven and earth, blessing, honour, glory and power, henceforth and for evermore. AMEN.

Μόνῳ Θεῷ δόξα.

A
S E R M O N

PREACHED TO THE HOUSE OF PEERS, NOVEMBER 13TH, 1678, BEING
THE FAST-DAY APPOINTED BY THE KING TO IMPORE THE MERCIES
OF ALMIGHTY GOD IN THE PROTECTION OF HIS MAJESTY'S SACRED
PERSON, AND HIS KINGDOMS¹.

*In the shadow of thy wings will I make my refuge, until these calamities be
overpast.*—Psalm LVii. ver. 1.

WHAT St. Hierome observed long since concerning this Book of Psalms, *Titulos esse claves*; that the title is usually the true key of David, to set open the Psalm to us, and to let us into the true understanding of it; he learned, probably, from a former author, (with whose writings he was in his younger years much delighted,) Origen I mean²: who, in his tomes upon the Psalms, discoursing of some obscurities in Holy Scripture, and the proper remedies thereof, gives us yet a more ancient tradition, which he received (as he saith) from a learned Jew; that the whole body of Scripture is like a great house, in which are several apartments, and therein many rooms shut up, and in them again many cabinets and boxes locked down: nor hangs the proper key at every door, but they lie scattered here and there, and counter-changed; so that it requires some pains and skill to find them out, and apply them aright. Thus, the key of the Prophetic Scripture lies in the Historical, where we often find both the occasion of the prophecy, and the event too; and that proves usually the best interpreter. Thus, the Acts of the Apostles, which contain the peregrinations and gestic of St. Paul, are a great master-key to open his Epistles, and to unlock to us many

¹ On the occasion of the celebrated Popish Plot, the Fast-day having been appointed in consequence of an Address

to the King, from the two Houses of Parliament.

² ORIG. *Philocal.* p. 59.

things, hard otherwise to be understood in them. And thus, in the present instance, David's History is the proper key to David's Psalter; and so the Books of Samuel, the Kings, and Chronicles, the best and most authentic commentary upon the Psalms.

For this now before us, lest we should mistake, the Spirit of God hath hung the key at the door, or at least pointed us whence to fetch it: and while the title dates it from the cave, we are plainly directed to 1 Sam. xxiv. There we find the holy man in a great strait of affliction; wandering like an exile, or banditto, in the wilderness of Engedi; the few men he had, straggling, and shifting for themselves upon the rocks of the wild goats; implacable Saul, in the mean time, with five times his number, so closely pursuing him, that he is forced to take shelter in the cave: and there being shut up from the sight of heaven, and light of the sun, and, as it were, buried alive in that obscure dungeon, surrounded with danger on every side, and little hope left him of escaping with his life; it is then that he sighs out his *Altaschith*, (as this, and the two following Psalms are entitled,) *Oh destroy me not utterly* (so the word signifies) *but let me live to praise thy name*; it is then that, by a vigorous faith, he flies to the tender mercies of God, as to his only city of refuge: and, reposing himself in the bosom of the Divine goodness by acts of faith and devotion, and of perseverance in both, he doth exactly and precisely that which we all are enjoined to do this day: he implores the mercies of God in the protection of himself, and in him of those that belong to him; Be merciful unto me, O God (saith he) be merciful unto me, for my soul trusteth in thee; yea, in the shadow of thy wings will I make my refuge, until these calamities be overpast.

So that, the proper business of this day being visibly stamped in great letters upon the forehead of the day, and that by the hand of sacred authority itself; and the lines of the text, too, running so parallel all along, and so commensurate to those of the day (upon which ground the whole Psalm was very pertinently selected as one of the proper Psalms for the office of the day): I may hope in some degree to discharge my duty to both of them, by treating of those two things—what God's protection is; and what we are to do, that we may be qualified and pre-

pared aright, successfully to implore the mercy of that protection. In order whereunto, I will consider the text in a two-fold reference.

I. As it looks down from God to us-ward in gracious and powerful protections: and so it speaks our great honour and happiness, the high and glorious privilege of pious kings and their kingdoms, that they are under the shadow of God's wings.

II. As it looks up in another aspect from us to God again; and so it contains our necessary and indispensable duty, and calls aloud for our suitable deportment; which is resolvedly to put ourselves under the Divine protection, or to seek and make our refuge under the shadow of his wings.

I. I begin with the high and glorious privilege of all holy souls, but especially of pious kings, and their kingdoms; they are under the shadow of God's wings. The expression frequently occurs in Scripture, and may seem to speak these three things, or some of them; which together will give you, I think, the full extent of the shadow of God's wings, the adequate importance of this illustrious metaphor.

1. Safeguard and defence from calamities, that they come not. Or,

2. Speedy help and deliverance out of calamities, when they are come. Or, however,

3. Comfort in the mean time, and refreshment in calamities, while they are upon us.

1. The privilege of safety and protection from calamities stand first in our method; intimated here in a three-fold expression; a refuge, a shadow, and the shadow of wings.

1. And what is a refuge, (which is the first,) but a place of security, either in regard of its secrecy to hide us, or its strength to defend us, to which we fly when calamity threatens us? And such is God to his people; a city of refuge, an inviolable sanctuary; an altar of mercy, to which we may fly and be safe, and from the horns whereof no bold calamity shall dare to pluck us, without his special commission. Or, in another reference, a place of refuge is a covert from storm and rain, Isaiah iv. 6, and, as it follows there in the same verse,

2. A tabernacle for a shadow, too, in the daytime from the

heat, which is the second expression: the emphasis whereof is far better understood in those intemperate climates, where the sunbeams are scorching, and the heats insufferable. Nothing there more desirable than a shady grove, or a deep grot the sun never looks into, or the shadow of a great rock in a weary land. Which protections, because the pilgrim Israelites wanted in the wilderness, God supplied it to them, by spreading a cloud over them for a covering in the day-time¹, (as the Psalmist speaks,) and God was in that cloud: so that for forty years together they marched and encamped under his shady wings, I had almost said, without a metaphor. And still whenever the sun of persecution, or other calamity ariseth upon us with burning heat², God can exempt whom He thinks good, and send them times of refreshing from the presence of the Lord: so that, while the world is all on fire about them, they journey through that torrid zone, with their mighty parasol, or umbrella over their heads, and are all the while in the shade.

And yet every shade is not a safe protection. *Umbra aut nutrix, aut noverca est*³, saith Pliny: and all the naturalists tell us, that the shadow of some trees is unwholesome, of others deadly. Aye, there is a shadow of death too in Scripture language; and you have heard of the shades of hell itself. And, therefore, to distinguish this benign and saving protection from those black and dismal shades, here is yet a further and a higher emphasis;

3. It is, in the third place, *umbra alarum*, a shadow of wings: an expression borrowed from birds and fowls, that brood and foster their young ones under them. The wing of the dam is both the midwife and the nurse; it brings forth the chickens, and it brings them up too. So Providence is both the womb that bare us, and the paps that give us suck. The wing is not only, as the shade, a protection from the heat, but a more universal defence against all the injuries and inclemencies of the air. Is it too hot? the wing casts off a cold shade. Or is it too cold? the wing affords a warm covering. Are the younglings frightened with a storm? the wing is a ready shelter. Do the kite, or hawk, the tyrants and freebooters of the air, hover over

¹ Ps. cv. 39.² Jam. i. 11.³ Lib. 17, c. 12.

and threaten? the wing is a safe retreat. And thus *in sacris Domini defensionibus*, as Cassian speaks; in God and his holy protections we have all.

That our troubles are not long since grown too hot for us, it is because He cools and allays them. That our comforts do not grow cold, and die away in our bosoms, it is because He warms and reinforceth them. That we have heard it bluster abroad for so many years together in a formidable tempest, which hath drenched and drowned so great a part of Christendom in blood, and yet the storm hath hitherto flown over us: that the clouds have been gathering at home too, and so long hung black over our heads, and yet not poured themselves forth in showers of vengeance: that Gebal, and Ammon, and Amalek, and the rest, that hell, and Rome, and their partisans, our enemies on all hands, both foreign and domestic, have been so long confederate against us, saying, Come, and let us root them out, that they be no more a people, that the name of the Reformed Church of England may be no more in remembrance; that they have so often looked grim, and sour, and roared, and ramped upon us, and yet not been able to seize us: to what can we justly ascribe all this, but to the gracious protection of God's shady wings spread over us?

It is pity, brethren, we are not more deeply apprehensive of it, since so it is. We sit continually in the lap and arms of Providence: she is at once our fortress and our store-house: it is to her we owe both our defence and supplies; our safety and our abundance: that we ever had any good thing in this world, whether personal or national, it is because we have sucked the breasts of her consolations: and that we keep and enjoy any thing, (while our soul is among lions, while we dwell in the midst of cruel and blood-thirsty men, as holy David complains a little below my text;) it is because we sit under the shadow of her wings. And, since we are, for all this, so over apt to forget her, and to pride ourselves in bulwarks of our own projecting, God hath seemed oftentimes, and now again of late, to be about to dismantle all, and to teach us this lesson at the dearest rate, if we will not learn it better cheap; that we cannot be safe out of His protection; that the shadow of His wings is our best, nay.

only refuge; and that, whether we take a refuge for the protection of secrecy, or for the protection of strength. Of which much might be said, would the time permit it: but so much briefly of the first privilege, that of safeguard and protection from calamities, that they come not upon us. I haste to the second;

2. If calamities do come, (and who is wholly exempt from that common tax, and tribute of mortality?) the expression speaks assistance too and timely deliverance out of them. Wings, in the common notion of the world, signify speed, and activity; τὸ τῆς πρόνοιας καὶ ἐπιφανεῖας ὀξύ', as Theodoret speaks: God's speedy and efficacious Providence, and appearance in time of need to deliver his people. It is, therefore, that we give the winds wings, and the angels too; as being the swift messengers of God, the nimble Mercuries of Heaven. It is therefore too that when God appears seasonably to deliver his afflicted people, He is said in the Psalm to mount a cherub, and to fly, or to come flying to them upon the wings of the wind, or to carry them off into safety on the wings of an eagle*. Birds do not only cover their young ones under their wings within the nest: if the seat prove dangerous, they take them up too, on their wings, and carry them off to a safer station.

Ye have seen what I have done for you, (saith God to the Jewish nation,) how I bare you upon eagles' wings, and brought you to myself*. As if He had said, When you were in actual bondage, I rescued you; not only brooded you under my wings in Egypt, and preserved you by my Providence, while you were yet in the egg; but I hatched you, as it were, even in the iron furnaces of Memphis, into political life, and national being; and then brought you out safely, openly, triumphantly, (as the eagle doth her young,) and brought you off too into a more prosperous condition.

And may not God bespeak us too the people of England, in the same language? When we were enslaved at home, (and so in worse than Egyptian slavery,) and our Pharaoh and his proud task-masters made even our lives bitter to us in hard bondage, in mortar, and in brick, to build up their own proud Babels; when

* In P 17. 8. and 18. 10.

* Psm. xviii. 10.

* Ex. xix. 4.

they had now killed, and also taken possession, and divided the spoil, and said, in a frolic of their lusty pride, We have devoured them, and there is no hope for them in their God: then, on the sudden, as an eagle stirreth up her nest, and fluttereth over her young, and spreadeth abroad her wings, (as Moses speaks in his admirable song¹.) thus awakening, and exciting their natural activity, and emboldening them to use it to the utmost; and when that will not do, taketh them up herself, and beareth them away upon her own wings: so here the Lord alone did lead us, and there was no other with Him; that is Moses's own reddition: when our own pinion proved too weak, and all our faint flutterings to no purpose; then, by a miracle of wisdom, power, and goodness, He took us up to that gallant and wonderful flight, even up to a higher pitch than we durst look, and made us to ride upon the high places of the earth, and set our nest again amongst the stars.

And now, when restless and unquiet men (the true spawn of him whose tail drew the third part of the stars of heaven², and cast them to the earth,) would fain, by their hellish plots and contrivances, bring us down again from thence, even down to the very ground, and lay all our honour in the dust: when, by their secret machinations, they are at work on all hands to hurry us back into the old confusions; in hope that, out of that disordered mass, they may at length rear up a new world of their own; (but what a world? A world made up of a new heaven of superstitions, and idolatries; a new earth, too, of anarchy first, and pretended liberty, but of tyranny insufferable at the next remove:) in such a dangerous state of affairs as this, whither should we rather (nay, whither else can we) run for help and deliverance, but under His protections, the stretching out of whose wings fills the breadth of thy land³, O England! He can make all these cockatrice eggs, on which this generation of vipers (that eat out the bowels of their mother) have sat so long abroad, windy at last, and addle; and He will do it: so that out of the serpent's root shall never come forth an adder to bite us, or a fiery flying serpent to devour us. He will confound these Babel builders, with their city, and their tower, or temple, (their

¹ Deut. xxxii. 11.² Apoc. xii. 4.³ Isa. viii. 8.

foreign polity, and their strange worship; their novel modes, and models of government in Church and State,) and scatter them abroad from hence upon the face of all the earth. Like as a dream when one awaketh, so shall He despise their images, and their imaginations too, and cause them to vanish out of the city, and make the whole bulk of their vast contrivance to consume away like a snail, and become like the untimely fruit of a woman, which shall never see the sun. He that at first made all things with an Almighty word, said only, *Let it be*, and it was so; can, with the same facility, unmake, and annihilate those worlds of wickedness, which these great architects of mischief have been so long projecting, and building up. It is but for Him to say, *It shall not prosper*, or *This shall not be*, and behold the mighty machine cracks about their ears, and sinks into ruin, into nothing; leaving no effect behind it more real or conspicuous, than a more firm and lasting establishment of that, which God's own right hand hath planted amongst us.

When the earth at first was without form, and void, and darkness hovered over the face of the deep, the Spirit of God (saith the text) moved upon the waters¹. The word in the original² (as St. Hierome tells us from the Hebrew traditions) implies, that the Spirit of God sat abroad upon the whole rude mass, as birds upon their eggs, *καὶ ὠτόκησε τὸ πᾶν*, (as a Greek author³ speaks elegantly,) and hatch the chaos into world; by degrees digesting, and in the mean time preserving and sustaining it by kindly heats, and vital incubations. And to the like benign and gracious purposes doth God still spread the wings of his good providence over his people and their affairs, in calamitous times, such as this is; when He may seem to stretch out upon the political world the line of confusion, and the plummet of emptiness, (*Tohu* and *Bohu*, the very words which describe the first chaos,) as it is Isaiah xxxiv. 11. And if hereupon we put ourselves (as we ought) under the saving influences of His wings; He will either digest our confusions into greater order and beauty than before, or at least support and cheer us while we lie under them; which is the third and last privilege implied in this expression.

3. Comfort and refreshment in calamities, while they are

¹ Gen. i. 2.

² מרחפת.

³ *Greek Scholion on ARATUS.*

upon us. For the wing is not only the retreat of safety from calamities, as in the first particular; nor only the instrument of deliverance out of calamities, as in the second: it is also the seat of comfort, and the fountain of refreshment, when they lie heaviest upon us.

And here I might spend the hour with much delight; for the prospect is fair and large before me. But I am sensible that I have already staid too long upon the first head of discourse propounded; and so, perhaps, complied too much with the common humour, which loves rather to be tickled and amused with high privilege, than instructed in necessary duty. I shall, therefore, make haste to seize what remains of the time, and improve it, to let you see, that all I have said hitherto, and the much more I might have said, upon that first head of privileges, signifies nothing at all, is all blank and cypher to them that go not on cheerfully to the second, that of duty.

II. They that would be safe under God's wings, must not only please themselves with the general speculation, that safety and protection is there to be had: they must also make their refuge there, they must put themselves under the shadow of those wings by their special act and deed; must deliberately choose and effectually place their last resort there; and, if they will partake the benefits, must comply with the obligations of such a state. God is our refuge, and our strength, saith holy David¹, most devoutly, and most methodically too: for we must first make Him our refuge by flying to Him, before we can hope that He will be our strength. In vain do they dream of God's saving protections, that turn their backs upon His precepts, and cast His laws behind them. It is true, God's altars are our sanctuary, an inviolable asylum in our sufferings, and in our sorrows, in our calamities, and in our dangers, for our ignorances, and for our infirmities: but are our crimes too privileged and protected there? That were indeed to turn God's temple into a den of thieves, and murderers, (the notorious abuse of the modern sanctuaries;) and to set up the wing of abominations (spoken of by Daniel the prophet) even in the holy place. Nay, but pluck them from mine altars, (saith God,) or slay them there, that sin

¹ Psal. xlv. 1.

presumptuously, and with a high hand. God will not be so merciful to those that offend of malicious wickedness, as to receive them, with all their sins about them, under that sacred and saving protection. The holy dove broods not a kite, or a vulture: they are birds quite of another feather. If, in good earnest, we would be fostered and cherished under God's wings, we must first be hatched into his likeness and similitude, be renewed after his image, and be made partakers in some measure of the Divine nature.

To hover no longer in generalities; the fruitful metaphor of the text, as you have distinctly seen, is big with our privilege; so to qualify us for that, it is as remarkably pregnant with our duty also. Among the rest, it clearly suggests to us in three noble instances of our duty, so many apt and proper qualifications to fit and prepare us for God's wing. 1. A pious trust and confidence in God. 2. A fervent devotion towards God, and his holy worship in his temple. And 3. A constant unwearied perseverance in both the former; for it is *donec transierint*, until these calamities be overpast. And,

1. For trust and affiance in God: it is visible, that to fly under God's wings, and to make Him our refuge, and to trust in Him, are parallel phrases, which expound one another; and differ only, as the same sense clad in metaphor, and stripped of it again. And therefore some versions, both ancient and modern, translate the text, *Under the shadow of thy wings will I trust*¹. It were happy for us, were this duty of trust in God but as visibly transcribed into our practice, as it is originally legible in the text. We all pretend high, indeed, and put on a fair semblance here too; I believe in God, is our daily language: but, as one saith well, *Non est strepitus oris, sed fervor, et devotio cordis*: lip-labour will not serve the turn; it must go deeper, even to the ground of the heart. Would we put in, then, for David's share in the privilege, God's mercy, and protection to our king, and to ourselves? We must labour for a trust like David's: Be merciful to me, O God, (saith he,) for my soul trusteth in thee.

To bring you to the test, then; the trust that may be trusted to, and that will stand us in stead, when calamities invade or

¹ *Chald. Engl. Gen.*

threaten us, must have these three properties: it is founded and prepared in self-diffidence; it is carried on, and exercised in active diligence; and, lastly, it is consummate in full and perfect resignation.

First, It is founded and prepared in deep self-diffidence and distrust; in a clear abrenunciation of ourselves, and all worldly dependencies. The chickens are weak and helpless in themselves; and, as if they knew it too, stay not to combat the kite, nor stand the dreadful shock when the hawk hovers over, and is ready to stoop upon them, but run nimbly under the dam's wing for shelter. The very instincts of nature have taught all weak things to seek their support out of themselves in some retreat where they may be safe. Thus the fir-trees are a refuge for the stork; the high hills for the wild goats; and the rocks for the conies¹. The hare hath her covert too, and the foxes their holes or dens. Even the weaker and groveling plants (as vines, and the like) have their tendrils, certain pliant strings, wherewith they naturally clasp and twine themselves about the supporters they are to climb by. In fine, all nature is wholly adjective, and, as if it were conscious to itself of its inability to stand alone, is ever in busy quest of its proper substantive that may uphold it. Man, as the only bad grammarian, makes still false syntax, and false construction; apt to seek his refuge where it is not to be had: as if he were under that curse upon David's enemies², not only in case to beg his bread, which he finds not at home, but to seek it also out of desolate places.

Thus Jonah sits under his gourd with overmuch delight, till the worms smite it at the roots, and it withers. Rebellious Israel trusts in the shadow of Egypt³, (the land shadowing with wings, as the prophet speaks,) and it proves their confusion: and we have heard of cedars of Lebanon, that degraded themselves unto the protection of a bramble, till fire came out of that bramble and devoured them. We laugh at the Babel-builders, who designed a tower up to heaven, above the reach of Divine vengeance, or any deluge of wrath that could come on them. But he had reason that said, *Totus mundus est plenus turrium Babyloniarum*: not only the plains of Shinar, the whole world

¹ Psm. civ. 18.² Psm. cix. 10.³ Isa. xxx. 3.

is full of such towers. We all are apt to build castles in the air, some *Νεφελοκοκκυγία*, or other; some city of cuckows in the clouds, like that in the Greek comedian¹. We have all of us our gourds, and our brambles to trust in; apt to canonize our own sanctity, and integrity; to idolize our own strength and activity; to defy our own wit and policy.

But if in good earnest we look toward the covert of God's wings, and would put in there, we must begin negatively; first moult, and cast all our sick feathers, and clip the wings of all our carnal confidences, upon which we are apt to soar too loftily, before we can make good our flight, *Confringet ascellas*, (so the vulgar Latin reads that text, Levit. i. 17,) the sacrifice of birds is not accepted, till the wings be broken, that is (saith St. Cyril of Alexandria²) till our pride be mortified. God will take us off our false dependencies, and will have us clearly quit all (namely as to trust in any of them) and run naked under his defence; and then we are fit for his wing. Say not, then, this great nation is a wise and an understanding people; we have counsel, and strength for the war; we are fenced and moated in from the rest of the world with the vast ocean; our island sits a queen in the heart of the four seas; she shall dwell in safety alone, and know no sorrow. Let not the mighty thus glory in their might, nor the wise in their wisdom; but he that glorieth, let him glory in the Lord.

And of this, holy David stands here before us a great example. He trusts not in the wings of his army, but in the Lord of hosts and battles; not in the shadow of his cave, but in the shadow of God's wings; not in the height of his rock, but in the rock of ages. Though, being a man of war, he well understood the grand importance of a castle well seated and fortified; of a mount or rock inaccessible; of a cave in that rock capacious and defensible, (such as Strabo tells us there were many in Palestine; and such were probably the cave of Adullam, and the strong holds of Engedi, and the rest, which we meet with so often in David's story :) yet severed and abstracted from the Divine protections, he slights all these, as paper walls, and cobweb fortifications: and knowing he could not be safe on this

¹ ARISTOPH.

² *De Adorat.* lib. 16.

side Omnipotence, he styles God almost in every Psalm, his rock, and his castle, his fortress, and his strong-hold, his high tower, and the hill of his defence: that is the first property of his trust; it begins in great self-diffidence: but,

Secondly. It goes on in an active diligence. The young one hath its last retreat indeed under the dam's wing: yet the little wing it hath of its own, it employs to bring it thither. The eagle in Moses's song, as I noted before, not only bears its eaglets on her own wings, but stirs up her nest too, and provokes them first to do their uttermost.

Though David resolved well, I will not trust in my bow¹; yet he used it sure. It was not Goliath's sword that could save him; yet gladly he girt himself with it, when the high priest reached it him. There is no king, saith he, that can be saved by the multitude of an host; yet he refused not the volunteers that came to list themselves under him. He fled from Saul with all diligence into the cave; though he had still a refuge beyond it. Though he sets up his rest under God's wings; yet, Oh (saith he) that I had the wings of a dove too, that I might fly away to my rest².

The moral, and the reddition of all is but thus much. We all of us have wings of our own too; faculties, and abilities, that must be used (why else were they given us?) though they must not be trusted in. The most excellent Father Paul of the Servi of Venice was libelled in the holy office (as they call it) for advising one that pretended to immediate inspirations and assistances, to use human means and industries, and so to expect God's blessing. But the inquisitors were for once so wise, as to absolve him without examination³.

Our Psalmist states the matter well. Trust in the Lord, saith he, but be doing good too, and so verily thou shalt be fed. Commit thy way unto the Lord, and He shall bring it to pass⁴: but walk in it thyself; how is it else thy way? Commit the keeping of thy soul, saith the Apostle, (and so, commend the keeping of the public too,) to God⁵: but still *év ἀγαποῦντα*, in

¹ Psm. xliv. 6. xxxiii. 16.

² Psm. lv. 6.

³ See his *Life*.

⁴ Psm. xxxvii. 3—5.

⁵ 1 Pet. iv. 19.

well-doing, in doing thy duty in thy station in all the instances of it.

In the age of miracles, indeed, when the sea divided, and suddenly turned green meadow; and when an angel went forth and dispatched so many thousands in a night: well might the watch-word be, Stand still and see the salvation of God; the Lord shall fight for you, and ye shall do nothing. But the season is changed, and it is now—Come forth, and help the Lord against the mighty; and work out your own salvation, (and so the salvation of the nation too,) because it is God that works: that is St. Paul's logic.

We must not presume to use our Lord, as Herod did; call for Him, when we please, to work us a fine miracle; neglect our affairs, and leave them embroiled and ruffled on purpose that He may come down ἀπὸ μηχανῆς, to disentangle them.

The glory of God descends not visible now-a-days upon our palaces, as of old upon the tabernacle of the congregation, to rescue our Moses and Aaron from being massacred by a desperate knot of mutineers: nor doth the earth open her mouth any longer, to swallow up our rebels and traitors alive. It is a sceptre of ordinary justice, not a rod of wonders, that fills the hand of our governors. We must not expect that a good cause should work alone of itself by way of miracle: believe it, it must be prudently, and industriously managed too, or it must at last miscarry.

For instance, (the instance of the present time:) the devils of sedition and faction, of treason and rebellion, those familiars of Rome, and Rheims, and St. Omers, (the Jesuits I mean, that have so long possessed and agitated a wretched part of this nation,) will never go out from hence, and leave us at quiet, no, not by prayer and fasting only. Nay, the best laws we have, the best you can make, (if they be not steadily, and severely executed,) will prove too slight a conjuration for these sturdy evil spirits of disobedience. There is another and a better *flagellum dæmonum*, than that of *Hieronimus Mengis*, and his fellow exorcists. Holy water is a trifle; and holy words will not do it. There is no such thing as *medicina per verba*: words and talk will never cure the distempers of a nation. Deaf adders

refuse all the voice of the charmer, charm he never so wisely. If, in good earnest, we would be rid of this legion, and say, as our Lord to the deaf and dumb spirit, Go out, and enter no more; (what shall I say?—in short,) Solomon's rod for the back of fools that grow troublesome or dangerous (as it may be prepared and managed) is a very powerful and effectual exorcism¹. Untamed horses, and skittish mules, that will have no understanding, are not edified at all by calm reasonings, and instructions and meek remonstrances; nor in any other method so well as by David's expedient; *in freno et como*²; their mouths must be kept in with bit and bridle, that it may not be possible for them to fall upon you; and so ye may be secure of them.

But the fitting up of David's bridle, and Solomon's rod, and the right use of both, is the business of another place. I shall resume the general thesis, and so shut up this particular. I say, then, they trust not in God, they presume and tempt Him, who work not together with Him, but receive his aids in vain, and look that He should bring about in extraordinary manner, what they take no care of themselves; but lie flat upon their backs looking upward, and will stir neither hand nor foot to help themselves. Nay, but *viriliter agite, et confortabit cor*, as it is in the Psalm³; play the men yourselves, do all that you can or ought to do, within your proper sphere; and so God will strengthen your hearts, all ye that put your trust in the Lord. Wings, as they are the covert of safety, so also the emblems of diligence, and the instruments of activity: and as they show us our privilege, may teach us also this part of our duty,—to trust only in God's wings, but to use our own too; that is the progress of David's trust; it goes on in active diligence.

Thirdly. It is consummate (as in the last act) in clear, and perfect resignation to God's good pleasure in the event, whatever it be. They trust not in God entirely, and as they ought, that rely only on his power, and dare not submit to his wisdom also; that would gladly engage Omnipotence on their side (and can you blame them?) but then they would manage it their own way, and in methods of their own contriving, and to ends, it may be, far distant from what God hath appointed: as if He would work

¹ Prov. xix. 20.² Psm. xxxii. 9.³ Psm. xxxi. 24.

journey-work under them, and leave them to be masters of the great shop of the world. No; but as Luther said well, when his friend Melancthon troubled himself over-much at some cross events; *Desinat Philippus esse Rector mundi*: It is God alone, who sits in heaven, and doth whatever pleaseth Him. If we be not content with the portion He allots us, but will needs be carving for ourselves elsewhere, or otherwise: or if we be not satisfied with his conduct of the affairs of the world, but think, with the great Alphonso, that we could mend the system: what is this but in effect to turn our backs upon God, and to set up for ourselves upon our own wretched stock, and implicitly at least to renounce the shadow of his wings, and all the privileges of it? *Pulli non prospiciunt*, saith one: young birds have no designs or forecasts of their own, but are wholly under the dam's conduct. And if we are allowed to have any ourselves, be they never so deeply laid, or so wisely contrived; so skilfully managed, or so vigorously pursued; we must at last entirely submit, and sacrifice them all to that sovereign wisdom and power, which ruleth in the kingdoms of men, and orders them in all things according to the good pleasure of his will.

To sum up, then, this whole great duty of affiance in God, with all the parts and branches of it; he trusts regularly in God, that trusts in nothing else, first: and yet, secondly, doth every thing he can, or is obliged to do by his duty: and, thirdly, when he hath done all, sits down at last under the shadow of God's wings, and waits the success in faith and hope, with perfect resignation to God's wise and just appointment in all things! that is the first duty implied in the expression, a pious trust and confidence in God. The second is an ardent and flaming devotion towards God, and his holy worship and service in his temple: *under the shadow of thy wings will I make my refuge*; it is certainly an allusion to the holy of holies, where was the ark of the covenant, the symbol of God's gracious presence, over which the cherubim of glory stretched forth their wings on high, and shadowed the mercy-seat¹: between which wings was God's dwelling-place, his shechinah, or majestic presence. And therefore when Ruth the Moabitess became proselyte to the

¹ Exod. xxv. 20. Heb. ix. 5.

Jewish religion and worship, she is said to come to trust under the wings of the God of Israel, Ruth ii. 12.

There are also *alæ ecclesiarum*, which we meet with in church-writers; as we corruptly call them, the aisles of churches; and in the Gospel itself *πτερύγια τοῦ Ἱεροῦ*, *pinnacles*, or (if we will render it close and just) *wings of the temple*: from the saving covert and protection whereof, as it is the devil's business to tempt and withdraw us, and so to cast us down from one of our noblest heights and defences: so, on the contrary, holy David's great example here, and the clear importance of the words of my text, lead us directly thither, (that is the last and most illustrious resort of the expression,) and bring us up with boldness to seek, and make our refuge even under the wings of the cherubim of glory.

And, indeed, where can we find on earth so safe, or so comfortable a retreat, when calamities assail, or threaten us, as here in the house of our God? doth not His cross stand over it on purpose to direct us hither, when we are ready to sink under the burthen of our own? When God's judgments are abroad in the world, and the avenger of our sins pursues us; more particularly, when the land is moved and divided; when the pillars thereof shake and tremble, and the foundations are ready to be cast down; when all things are in ferment, and in commotion round about us, and men's hearts ready to fail them for fear, and for looking after those things which are coming upon the earth; where should we rather take sanctuary, where can we more probably find help, and redress, than at the altar of the God of mercy, and under the shadow of the wings of His mercy-seat?

This was holy David's steady resolve, when his heart was overwhelmed, as he speaks, Psalm lxi. 2, I will abide in thy tabernacle for ever; I will trust (or, I will make my refuge) in the covert of thy wings, ver. 4: and when his afflictions put him beside that guard, set him at distance from those happy opportunities, took him down from those blessed heights; yet still, even at the lowest, I will lift up mine eyes, saith he, to the hills, (at least cast a long look toward Sion) from whence cometh my help¹. This was the sting of all his sorrows, as it were the calamity

¹ Psal. cxxi. 1.

royal he so groans under, almost in every Psalm ; not that Saul, or Absalom had driven him from his own, but from God's House. Though the Holy Land was of no large extent : yet, as if he had been banished to the antipodes, From the ends of the earth, saith he, have I cried unto Thee, Psalm lxi. 2. Though his devotion consecrated every place he came into ; turned the cave into a chapel, and the wilderness of Judah into holy ground ; and I had almost said, even Gath of the Philistines into a holy city ; (for we have Psalms dated from every one of these ;) yet still he sighs, Oh restore me, Oh bring me, Oh set me upon a rock that is higher than I : he means, without doubt, the Hill of Sion, the Pico of Jewry, where God's house was established upon the tops of the mountains, as the Prophet speaks, Isa. ii. 2.

Men, and brethren, you that make up the more popular part of this mixed audience ; let me freely speak to you of the Patriarch David, and of yourselves. Blessed be the mercies of God, you lie under no such restraint, or interdict, as he did : you are not banished into the wilderness, nor shut up in the cave : the doors of God's house stand open to you, if you please ; and the wings of His mercy are stretched out wide to invite, and receive you ; would you but come in, and put yourselves under the shadow of them. Let it not be said, that your curiosity, or some worse humour, leads you quite another way : that you are over careful, and troubled about many things, which belong not to you, while you neglect the one thing necessary, the great duty of this, and of every day ; namely, to implore God's mercy and protection upon the king and his kingdoms, and His direction and blessing upon the public counsels. Let my counsel, I pray, be acceptable unto you. Study to be quiet, and to do your own business : and that lies not in the court, or in the palace, but here in the temple. It is not to listen at the doors of the two Houses of Parliament, or to eves-drop the Council-Chamber ; but to wait in your proper stations with modesty and patience, what avises and commands are sent you from thence, and to comply with them. Instead of thronging and pestering the galleries and avenues of those places, where matters of state are upon the table ; what a blessed appearance were it in times of danger, such as this is, to see the church doors always open, and the great stream and shoal of people con-

tinually flowing thither; and to find some of you always upon the floor there, weeping between the porch and the altar, and saying, Spare thy people, O Lord, and give not thy heritage to reproach. Thou hast brought up a vine out of Egypt: thou hast cast out the heathen, and planted it. Let not the wild boar out of the wood root it up, nor the wild beast of the field devour it. Let thy hand be upon the man of thy right hand, whom thou hast made so strong for thyself. Keep him, as the apple of thine eye; hide him under the shadow of thy wings. Let his days be many, and his reign prosperous; and under his shadow let both church and state long flourish: and let them be confounded, and driven backward, as many as have evil will at Sion.

To furnish out an office for such daily devotions, it is but to take your Psalter along with you in your hand, which is full of them. But especially let me commend to you that decad of Psalms, which begins with the 54th, and so on: which may seem to have been put together on purpose for such an occasion. This would be indeed effectually to transcribe holy David's copy, in this his exemplary and ardent devotion: which is the second duty required in the text, to prepare us for the protection of God's wing. There is but one more behind; and that is,

3. Constant perseverance in both the former.

In the two former you have seen holy David putting himself under the shadow of God's wings, and making good his refuge there, by acts of faith and devotion. And being once there, no storm shall beat him off, no discouragement shall drive him away, no delay shall weary him out. If God kills him, it is all one, he will trust in Him still, and die in His arms: for here he hath set up his rest, and *doneo transierint*, he is steadily resolved; his refuge is, and shall be, here, till these calamities are overpast.

But here we must take heed of a great mistake. There are, that hold the *doneo* in the text too hard and stiff; are too punctual and precise with God in it: who will trust in Him, it may be, and ply their devotions just so long, as till the calamity be past: but then on the sudden their trust grows feeble, and their devotion cold, and heartless: no sooner delivered, but, like old Israel, they forget God at the sea, even at the Red Sea;—use Him like Themistocles's plane-trees, under which men run for

shelter in storm; but the shower once over, they pluck off the branches, turn their backs, and away.

Nay, but there is in Scripture language an infinite and an interminable *donec*, which never expires. He knew her not, till she brought forth¹; nay, he never knew her. In spite of Helvidius, *ἀειπαρθένος*, (as the Greek church style her,) a virgin before, and in, and after the birth of our Lord, and for ever. Aye, that's the virgin's soul indeed, that keeps ever close to her heavenly spouse; not only runs under his wings for shelter, when calamities affright her, saying, Spread thy skirt over me, and then strays away again, as soon as ever the flattering calm, and sunshine of prosperity tempts her abroad. As our Lord hath given us an everlasting *donec*: Lo I am with you, saith He, till the end of the world: (not that He will leave us then, but take us yet nigher unto Himself, and so we shall ever be with the Lord, as the Apostle speaks² :) so must we also have one for Him of the same latitude and extension. For ever under the shadow of His wings; till this single tyranny, as in the old translation—all these calamities, as in the new—or as the Hebrew implies, till all and every of our calamities be over-past. Both before, and in, and after calamities, still under the shadow of God's wings. While they last, it is *In the shadow of thy wings will I trust*: and when they are passed, it is *In the shadow of thy wings will I rejoice*; that is all the difference. As the scenes shift, our devotion must improve, and advance too; till our prayer be heightened into praise, (as I trust ere long it will be,) our hope swallowed in enjoyment, and our trust sublimated, and made to flower up into joy and triumph: when the same God that raised David from the cave to the throne, shall translate us also from the shadow of His wings into the light of His countenance: to the Beatifical Vision whereof He of His mercy bring us, who hath so dearly bought it for us, Jesus Christ the Righteous: to whom with thee, O Father, and God the Holy Ghost, be ascribed of us, and all the creatures in heaven and earth, blessing, honour, glory, and power, both now, and for evermore. Amen.

¹ Matt. i. 25.

² 1 Thess. iv. 17.

MODERN POLICIES,

TAKEN FROM

MACHIAVEL, BORGIA, AND OTHER CHOICE
AUTHORS:

BY AN EYE-WITNESS.

'Ἀλλὰ τὰ μέν νοέω, καὶ φράζομαι.—HOM.

Libidinem dominandi, causam belli habent, et maximam gloriam in
maximo imperio putant.—SALLUST. *Fragm.*

Nam doli, non doli sunt, nisi Astu colas.
Sed malum maximum, si id palam pervenit.

PLAUTUS in *Captivis*.

Ambitio jam more sancta'st, libera'st a legibus.
Petere honorem pro flagitijs, more sit :
Mores, leges perduxerunt jam in potestatem suam.

Trinummus.

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TO MY VERY GOOD LORD,

MY LORD R. B. E.

[PROBABLY RALPH (BROWNRIGG), BISHOP OF EXETER.]

MY LORD,

I was never so proud, as to think I could write anything that might abide the test of your judicious eye: what I now send, appeals to your candour, entreating you to lay aside the person of a judge, for that of a friend. It is at best but a pamphlet, whether you consider its bulk, or worth. The result of a few pensive hours, spent in recollecting what the memory had registered from public observance, or private reading, in a theme so sadly copious as this is. If it be not impertinent to tell you what hinted to this trifle, it was this;— Having had an opportunity to look abroad into the world, I took some notice of the contrastos of the Italian princes, I remarked the Spaniard's griping Portugal, his grounds for the challenge of that kingdom, and his way of managing those grounds; I looked upon his method of propagating Christianity in the West; (where, one says, the Indian is bound to be religious and poor, upon pain of death.) Moreover, I observed with what artifice the Pope moderated in the European quarrels, and with what devices he twisted the Gospel and the advantage of the chair together; and in all the strugglings and disputes, that have of late years befallen this corner of the world, I found that although the pretence was fine and spiritual, yet the ultimate end and true scope was gold, and greatness, and secular glory. But, my Lord, to come near, when I saw kingdoms tottering, one nation reeling against another, yea, one piece of a nation justling the other, and split into so many parties and petty enmities; and each of these quoting Bible to palliate his mad and exorbitant opinions; I sighed, and it grieved me to see popular easiness and well-meaning, abused by ambitious, self-seeking men; for there is a generation that is born to be the plague and disquiet, and scourge of the age it lives in; that gladly sacrifices the public peace to private interest: and when

they see all fired, with joy warm their hands at those unhappy flames which themselves kindle, tuning their merry harps, when others are weeping over a kingdom's funeral.

But, above all, it pierced my heart to see the clergy in such an high degree accessory to the civil distempers and contentions, that have everywhere shaken the foundations of Church and State, so that (as the Catholic noted) there hath been no flood of misery, but did spring from, or at least was much swelled, by their holy-water. I searched the Evangelical records; and there was nothing but mild and soft doctrines; I inquired into the breathings of the Spirit, and they were pacificatory. I wondered from what precedents and Scripture encouragements these men deduced their practices, and at last was forced to conclude, that they were only pretended chaplains to the Prince of Peace; those torches that should have been for saving light, were degenerated into firebrands; those trumpets that should have sounded retreats to popular furies, knew no other music but martial All-arms.

I have endeavoured in the sequel, to represent to you the arts of ambition, by giving you the picture of a person over covetous of glory; the piece is coarse, but yet like; drawn only in water colours, which some of greater leisure and abilities may possibly hereafter lay in oil.

You know that the desires of man are vast as his thoughts, boundless as the ocean; a bored tub is not more insatiate¹. It is pity that greatness should at any time be out of the road of goodness; and I would sometimes, if I durst, with Socrates, curse him that first separated profitable and honest.

It does to me a little relish of paradox, that wherever I come, Machiavel is verbally cursed and damned, and yet practically embraced and asserted; for there is no kingdom but hath a race of men that are ngenious at the peril of the public; so that as one said of Galba, in respect of his crooked body, *Ingenium Galbæ male habitat*; so may I say of these, in regard of their crooked use; that wit could not have chosen a worse mansion, than where it is vitiated, and made a pander to wickedness.

If you ask me, what I mean to trouble the world, that is already under such a glut of books, you may easily perceive that I consulted not at all with advantaging my name; or wooing public esteem by what I now write; I knew there was much of naked truth in it, and thought it might possibly be of some caution to prevent the insinuation of pious frauds, and religious fallacies, into my native country; if any plain-

¹ Πῖθος τετριμμένος, ἀπὲρastos ἐπιθυμία. — JAMBLICUS.

hearted, honest man shall cast away an hour in perusing it, he may, perhaps, find something in it resembling his own thoughts, and not altogether strange to his own experience. It is not the least of our misfortunes, that sins and vices are oft-times endeared to us by false titles and compliments; being cozened with a specious name, though much incoherent to the thing we ascribe it; or else, omitting the vice which is the main, it intimates only the virtue, which is the by: as for example, we call an ambiguous man *μεγαλεπιδολος*, a person of noble aim and high enterprise; whereas, in truth, it signifies, an indirect affecter of grandeur. And I find, that by incautelous entertainment of these phrases, our judgments are often bribed to misapprehensions, and we seduced to bad actions. I have endeavoured in the ensuing discourse, to wipe off the paint and fucus; that so things may appear in their true complexion, unadulterated with the sleights and subtleties of deluders.

My Lord, that your Lordship may be one of those which the dark poet calls *δις ἡσῆσαντα*, that the youth of your honours may be renewed to you, that your happiness may know no other season but a spring, is the earnest vote of your bounden Servant.

TO THE READER.

READER,

THAT nothing in this might deter a common eye, the quotations are translated, not *κατὰ νόδας*, but as might best serve the sense and scope of the Author: yet I believe thou wilt find little in the English, which is not warranted by the original, or (which is more) by the truth. I invite none to it, but such as desire to be just valuers, and loyal observers of a good conscience. Now, if thou be not banished by the verdict of thine own breast, thou art welcome; otherwise read it, not as directed to thee, but meant of thee. This book is like a garment in a broker's shop, not designed to any one person, but made for any that it fits.

My intent was, to represent to you in the general (not mentioning particulars) a cursed, a wicked, but yet a fortunate politician: it was a good caution that Cassius gave the Senate, concerning Pompey¹. It is foolish to laugh in the face of Dionysius, and dangerous to shrug before Andronicus: it is not good to tempt the displeasures of tyrants upon idle scores; a thin shield will serve to keep out the style of a satirist; nor can I commend him that lost his bishoprick for a romance.

Therefore I brand not persons, but things; and if any man's guilt flashes in his face when he reads, let him mend the error, and he is unconcerned. It is to no purpose to tell that there is a second part, twin and co-etaneous to this, that was once intended to run the same fortune; but I have many reasons, besides my own weakness, to publish a valediction to the press (especially as to discourses of this nature); and if ever, I would fain have it seen by a fairer light.

The great God of Heaven pour into us such inward props and comforts, as may help us to stem and bear up against the rugged traverses of degenerate times.

And let it beget in us milder opinions of adversity, when we consider that the winter of affliction does the better fit us to bear the eternal verdure of glory.

¹ Nos illum deridemus, sed timeo ne ille nos gladio ἀναμυκτηρίση.

The time will come, when all shadows and apparitions shall vanish: glorious morn! when wilt thou dawn? Then these sullen clouds shall be scattered, right restored, worth prized, virtue honoured, vice degraded, and honesty rewarded.

Farewell.

THE name of *prince*, which I often use, must be understood as convertible with any person or persons, whom God hath intrusted with a just supremacy; all the dialects of government being concerned in the abuse; I have made the chief, and most familiar, to represent the rest.

I am not ignorant, that the quotations may justly seem more numerous than method and the rule of art will conveniently allow. I have this to say, to vindicate me from affectedness; that I have been little studious of elegance and curiosity in the composure, esteeming nakedness to be the best dress of truth: and, if I mistake not, those attendants I have here procured her, may afford some material, though little ornamental, advantage.

A PRÆMONITION.

It is far from the design of this Treatise, to derogate from the honour of the calling, or worth of the person of any sober statesman. 'Tis a knowledge that no man observes with more due respect than myself; because I know it in no mean degree essential to the peace and flourishing condition of a kingdom, or commonwealth. 'Tis a jewel to be locked up in some few rare cabinets; and not to be made cheap, and exposed to irreverence, by being bared, and prostituted to every vulgar eye. The pseudo-policy here mentioned is contradistinct to that science, which is ever built upon piety and prudence; for upon these solid bases your wise architect delights to raise the glorious superstructure of government in a prince, and subjection in a people: so knitting the interests of both, with reciprocal mixture, that the welfare of the one may be involved in the good of the other: that majesty may be preserved in its just splendour, and yet the liberty of the subject remain inviolate. He is the Atlas of the falling state, cures it when sick, sets it when disjointed, meets it in its several pressures with suitable reliefs. Such was Philip de Commine, of whom one said, it was a measuring cast, whether Lewis were the wiser king, or Philip the wiser counsellor; such was Burleigh to our late Queen Elizabeth, whose advice had very eminent influence into the prosperity of her reign, which was such as I believe few ages can parallel, and future times will render her happy annals, as written like Xenophon's *Cyrus*¹, discovering not so much what was, as what should be: not intended for a true history, but for the effigies of a just empire. So that if we love peace, or plenty, or liberty, we are bound in way of acknowledgment, to own that in *Plutarch*², true policy deserves to be put in the first file of virtues.

¹ Non ad historię fidem, sed ad exemplum justı Imperii.

² Τῆς πολιτικῆς ἀρετῆς ἀνθρώπου οὐ κτάναι τελειότεραν. *Cato Maj.*

But as the corruption of the best things makes them worst, so this noble knowledge hath been abused to loose and ambitious ends by some men¹, who seem to have sucked the venom out of all politics, misapplying what was good, and creating new, according to the urgency of their own occasions, like the laws that were made in Causinus's Babel, to be ruled by manners, and not manners by laws. They vex true policy by misinterpreting, and false glossing²; framing in their hearts, Dianas of hypocrisy and subtilty, and worshipping them in their actions.

The rules following, there are few so silly as to believe, though too many so wicked as to practise; and not only so, but by a bold imposture to persuade, that such actions as are deduced from those principles are justifiable, and, if fortunate, commendable.

That all may see these rocks, and shun them, and detest knavery, though never so specious, and nauseate sin, though robed in successes and triumphs, is my daily prayer.

¹ OPHYOGENES et PSYLLI.

² Furialibus commentariis illustrant.

FIRST PRINCIPLE.

The Politician must have the Shadow of Religion, but the Substance hurts.

THERE is no superstition in politics more odious, than to stand too much upon niceties and scruples: and therefore Machiavel cut the hair when he advised, not absolutely to disavow conscience, but to manage it with such a prudent neglect, as is scarcely discernible from a tenderness: not permitting it to be techy and reluctant, nor yet prostituting it, unless upon solemn and insuperable occasions. He notes it from Papirius in Livy, who slighted the Pullarii handsomely, and was rewarded: whereas Appius Pulcher did it grossly, and was punished.

But because the politician is best able to tell his own documents, you may please to conceive you found these broken discourses in his study; to each of which I shall add an antidote.

External holiness invites awful regards; there is no mask that becomes rebellion and innovation so well as religion; nothing that so much conceals deformity, and pretends beauty. 'Tis an excellent thing so to dissimulate piety, that when we act strongly against it, in that very article of wickedness the people saint us. Herod would fain worship, when he means to worry.

In the act of sin do but religion cry,
Says Tereus, You as holy are as I¹.

This is that which leads the world in a string, that hallows the most hellish enterprises; for the common people (which are the τὸ πᾶν) never see behind the curtain; a handsome gloss is with them as good as the text. I believe the great naturalist was in the right, when he called a deity a jolly invention. 'Tis ridiculous to think, that God troubles himself about sublunary things, but 'tis not fit the world should know it². Let me enjoy

¹ — Ipso sceleris molimine Tereus | humanarum quicquid est summum, sed
Creditor esse pius. | credi ex usu vitæ est. PLIN. l. 2.

² Irridendum, agere curam rerum | cap. 6.

the temporal advantages of religion, and let others take the eternal ; let me use it for a cloak or a crutch, and let others expect from it a crown.

The river in Athenæus¹ is my emblem, whose upper waters were sweet and grateful, but towards the bottom brackish. Let me be a superficial, let others be fundamental Christians. I like the humour of the Samseans in Epiphanius, that were neither Jews, nor Gentiles, nor Christians, but preserving a commodious correspondence with all. Whatsoever I act in reference to heaven, is merely theatrical ; and done in subordination to some other interest. Lycurgus could never have ingratiated his laws so effectually, if he had not pretended a dialogue with his goddess. 'Tis to me indifferent, whether the religion I personate be true or false, so it be but popular ; and if the people I mean to juggle with, err fundamentally, I can by no means court them more, than by embracing their delusion. It buckles them very close to me in moral observance, to assist them in their spiritual fondness, and mix with their distemper ; and therefore I commonly lead the van in the faction, and call it *Jure Divino*, though I never found it but in hell's black canons.

How comfortably the pope and cardinals conferred notes : How profitable has the tale of Christ been to us² ! Oh the rich income and glorious result of hypocrisy ! This, this must be diligently studied and practised.

If that my deeds of darkness may
Be hid in clouds as black as they ;
If, being ugly, I may paint,
Why then I am a true new Saint³.

Privacy for a sin, and cleanly conveyance for a cheat, make it to common eyes seem as white as innocency itself : the strictness of that thief was very notable, who always before he went about the work of his calling, (for so he called stealing,) went to prayers, that God would bless and prosper him. So, I say grace to the

¹ Fons in Mileto, cujus profuens aqua dulcissima, quæ vero in imo salsa.

² Quantum nobis luci peperit illa fabula de Christo !

³ —Da justum sanctumque videri, Noctem peccatis, et fraudibus obijce nubem.

HORACE, *Epist.* b. 1. Ep. 16.

design, be it never so wicked ; and give thanks for the success, be it never so bloody.

But further in subserviency to a loose interest, there must be no such puling thing, as conscience. Hell, and Heaven, and Scripture, and what else the Christian esteems most sacred, must all truckle under the plot, but not be observed when they come to oppose it. Had Alexander boggled at invading other men's kingdoms, he had never wept for the scarcity of worlds. There is no greater obstacle to generous actions, than a coy and squeamish conscience. 'Tis pretty that some tell us, that it strikes *surdo verber*, with a still and silent stroke ; and then how can it be heard in the noise and bustle of a clamorous world ? Had your mighty conquerors, and your valiant captains, and your thriving popes, listened to this inward charmer, their names had never swelled, and looked big in the rolls of fame.

COLASTERION.

But let all sober Christians know, that this shell of religion, though it may be of external conducement, yet there is nothing that God's pure and undeluded eye looks on with more abhorrence. We may possibly deceive men, but it is in vain to put ironies upon God. A counterfeit religion shall find a real hell ; and 'tis pity that such a sacred thing should be violenced, and made subservient to rebellious irregular designs.

As for such who have conspired with the wrath of God in the stupefaction of their consciences, though they may for a time struggle with those inward checks, yet there will be a day (if not in this life) when that witness, that judge, that jury, will not be bribed. God hath fixed it in the soul, as an internal register, as an impartial diary, as the censor of the affections, and pedagogue of the passions¹. It does not only illustrate divine justice in an *Autocatacrisy*, but was meant by God for a bridle and restriction. And he, that hath by an inveterate wickedness conquered the opposition which God seated in his heart to sin, may possibly consult well with his present advantage and greatness, but not at

¹ ORIGEN.

all with his future comfort ; for besides the loss of that intimate pleasure which waits upon innocency¹ he feels sometimes those bosom quarrels that verberate and wound his soul ;—for

Συνείδησις τὴν Ψυχὴν πλῆττει.

PRINCIPLE II.

The Politician must by all means make the most insinuating Applications to the People that he can; and lock up his own Design, in Pretence for Religion, Liberty, Restitution of Laws, Reformation of Gabels, &c.

THE prosperity of innovation depends in a high measure upon the right knack of kindling and fomenting jealousies and dislikes in the people ; and then wielding those grudges to the favour and advantage of private ends : for the people are to the politician, like tools to the mechanic ; he can perform nothing without them ; they are his wings, his wheels, his implements, the properties that he acts with.

That this may be done effectually there must be an excellency in these following sleights.

First. To assign such a cause of grievances, and such a course for redress, as may open a way to the alteration he aims at ; as, if he means to alter the government, or to engross the supremacy, he must artificially convince of a necessity to arm, 1. defensively, and if that succeeds, 2. offensively. This he may do by false alarms of danger, inventing horrid news, and plying the people with such fictitious perils as may make them believe religion and liberty and all is at stake, and that they are the geese that must save the Capitol.

Secondly. When he sees opportunity to reveal his own design, he must do it gradually, and by piecemeal* ; for that which at one view would be a Mormo to fright them, give it them in small parts, and they will digest it well enough.

Thirdly. He must compose his very garb and gesture. It is

¹ Vinum in pectore.

² Ἐκ προσαγωγῆς.

a great matter to tell a lie with a grace. As, if Religion be the mode, he must in his tales knock his breast, attest God, and invoke imprecations upon himself, if he does not do that, which he never intends.

Fourthly, He gives them good words, and bad actions, like those the historian brands with a *Crudelitatem damnatis, crudelitatem initis*, ravishes them with apprehensions of liberty, under the highest strain of oppression; for it is most certain, if you please them with the name, they will embrace it for name and thing. Something like this had been imposed upon Rome, when the orator writ to his friend Atticus¹ that they were cheated in names, for military license was miscalled liberty. This was well described by Plautus in Truculento².

Pretence white as milk,
An' as soft as silk
Will do the feat:
Your hearts as sour as gall
Purpose our thrall,
And thus ye cheat.

Fifthly. He observes, that they receive probabilities, wisely propounded, more greedily than naked truths; and therefore he is very studious to glaze and polish his impostures³, that so they may to a loose eye dissemble truth, according to that of Pindar⁴:

Glorious lies,
Well marshalled tales,
Do still find favour:
Truth all forlorn
Intreats and woos,
But none will have her.

But that of Menander:

Let but the vulgar judge
(The Poet knew)
They'd take the probable
And leave the true⁵.

¹ Nomina rerum perdidimus, et licentia militaris libertas vocatur. Ingeniosa muscipulatores.

² In melle sunt linguae sitae vestrae, atque orationes, Lactequae: corda felle sunt sita, atque acerbato aceto.

E linguis dicta dulcia datis, at corde amarè facitis.

³ Γλυκὺ ψεύδος.

⁴ ——— Βροτῶν φρένα ———
ὑπερ τὸν ἀληθῆ λόγον,
δεδαίδαλμένοι ψευδεσι ποικίλοις,
ἐξαπατῶνται μῦθοι.

⁵ Τὸ πιθανὸν ἴσχυον τῆς ἀληθείας ἔχει
ἐνίοτε μείζω, καὶ πιθανότεραν ὁχλοῦ.

Sixthly. When he hath, by the assistance of the people, got the sword into his own hands, he awes them with it, and frights them into future compliance. He that courted them before with all the adulatory terms that ambition could invent, or they receive; as if he had been vowed their martyr, and ready to sacrifice his dearest enjoyments upon the altar of public liberty and freedom; as if his veins knew no other blood, but such as he would be proud to spend in their service; having now served himself of them, he forgets the bosom that warmed him; they hear from him now in a palinode; he curls up his smooth compliments into short laconics, and exchanges his courtship for command.

COLASTERION.

First. We may be assured, that there is no greater index of ambition, than an affectation of popularity: which appears in meek addresses to the people, wooing and familiar condescensions, bemoaning their sufferings, commending a more vigorous sense of them. That of the Comic is no bad rule¹:

'Tis not for nought, when those above
Tender their service, and their love.
These are but profitable arts,
Their tongues are strangers to their hearts.

Or that which Livy notes of a grandee: pride never condescends without design². The extreme kindness of fawning of great persons is always suspicious, because often fraudulent; remember the Sileni, that used to kill with hugs and embraces.

Secondly. Know it is very usual for men to personate goodness, till they have accomplished their ends; it is observed of Appius, when he had his wish³, he left wearing of another man's person. It is an old note⁴:

¹ Non temerarium est ubi dives blandè appellat pauperem
Altera manu fert lapidem, panem ostentat altera :
Nemini credo, qui longe blandu'st dives pauperi.

² Credebant haud gratuitam in tantâ superbiâ comitatem fore.

³ Finem fecit gerendæ alienæ personæ.

⁴ Maxima pars morem hunc homines habent; quod sibi volunt,
Dum id impetrant, boni sunt, sed id ubi jam penes sese habent,
Ex bonis pessimi, et fraudulentissimi sunt.

Before the man
 Had got his end
 He was all Puritan :
 What he would have
 He thus obtained,
 And then resumed Knave.

Athenæus tells a pretty story of one Athenian, soon obscurely, who, as long as he was private and poor, excelled in a soft and tractable disposition, but when by juggling he had obtained the Athenian government, there was none more odious for a cruel, covetous and barbaric tyranny; as it is reported of Caligula, there was never a better servant, and a worse master.

Thirdly. We know, that a good aim, much less a good pretence, cannot justify a bad action; and therefore we ought to be as solicitous about the lawfulness of the means, as about the goodness of the end. It is a maxim in morality, that *bonum oritur ex integris*, and in Christianity, that we must not do evil, that good may come of it; and we may possibly rescue ourselves from future cozenage, if we examine the lawfulness of every circumstance leading to the end propounded, before we are tickled and transported with the beauty of the pretence.

PRINCIPLE III.

If the Supremacy be invaded, the Lapses of the former Magistrate must be inculcated with the greatest advantage, and what is wanting in reality, must be supplied in calumny.

It cannot easily be imagined of what singular importance the aspersing and blotting of a prince is, to boil up popular discontent to that height, which is requisite for a rebellion; and here it must diligently be inquired, if there have not been indeed such lapses, as have galled the people; and though they be old sores and skinned, yet they must be searched and refreshed, and exasperated with all the urging circumstances that come within the invention of scandal. It must be remembered, if any persons of public note have suffered under the sword of justice, whose

crimes can by art or eloquence be extenuated, whose hard measure must be mentioned with tears, that so old traitors may be propounded for new martyrs. This hath been the ordinary method of ambition, as you may find it noted by a great scholar, in these words:—"It was ever the most compendious way of usurpation, to dissemble a strong affection to our country; lamenting the vices of the prince, and miseries of the people; not with an intent to rescue them from servitude, but to get such a portion of favour, as may lift us up to the same pitch of honour on their shoulders; which having obtained, we transcendantly abuse, changing the rods of royalty into the scorpions of anarchy, aristocracy, or a free state¹."

'Tis the fashion of fortunate rebels, to feed the people with shells and empty names, as if their bare assertion could demonstrate to us (against all experience) that 'tis freedom to be slaves to quondam peasants, and slavery to be subjects to a true and natural prince. And therefore if the prince be severe, he gives them Nero's brand, a man kneaded up of dirt and blood: if he be of parts and contrivance, he calls it pernicious ingenuity: if he be mild and favourable to tender consciences, he declaims against his toleration. If he urge uniformity and decency in divine service, he rails at his superstition. And because there is no such equilibrion virtue, but has some flexure to one of the extremes, he is very careful to publish the extreme alone, and to silence the virtue.

But if the prince hath by carriage of extraordinary innocence, vindicated himself from obloquy (which shall scarce be, if small faults be rightly improved), then Machiavel's advice must be followed, to calumniate stoutly, till the people have entertained something to his prejudice: it is a figure in politics to make every infirmity a fault, and every fault a crime: and if the people be

¹ Fuit hæc omnibus sæculis, et adhuc est ad occupandam tyrannidem expeditissima via, dum summo se amore, ac pietate in patriam esse simulant, principum vitia, et populi miseriam, apud suos primum, deinde palam querebundâ voce lamentantur, non quò plebem, cujus solius com-

modis inserviri videri volunt, ab illo servitutis jugo asserant in libertatem; sed quo populari aurâ subnixi, aditum sibi et januam ad eam ipsam dignitatem, nequiora aliquando ausuri patefaciant. BARCLAY *contra Monarch.* 30.

disposed to alteration, these must be first urged against a monarch to depose him, or, if need be, to murder him; which is commendable, if you can dress him up like a tyrant, as you may find it justified by an honest Scot¹, who complains, that there are not some glorious rewards appointed for tyrannicides; and by the best of orators², that the Grecians gave divine honours to those that killed tyrants. And by the tragedian³:

More grateful victim none to Jove can bring,
Than is the blood of slaughtered unjust king.

And secondly, these personal faults must be artificially devolved upon monarchy itself.

There remains to disperse the commendation of that government which is intended for a successor: if aristocracy, the long-lived prosperity of Sparta and Venice is a very plausible evidence of its goodness; if democracy, the happiness of the Romans under their tribunes is very memorable; to which may be added this out of Machiavel, "that they are the most suitable guardians of any thing, who are least desirous to usurp it: and without doubt, considering the designs of the nobility and the people, we must confess, that the first are very ambitious of rule, the last desire only not to be oppressed."

COLASTERION.

I presume that person is very rare, that can boast of such an absolute saintship, whilst he is amongst mortals, but that there will now and then some actions fall from him, which confess humanity, and require candour; some leaves in the volume of the fairest life are *legenda cum veniâ*. If this be a common frailty, why do we fix such rigid censures upon the miscarriages of princes? Or why do we deny them the same mildness which we use, when we commiserate the infirmities of other men? 'Tis yet much more disingenuous to revive and pore upon a few bad actions, which, it may be, have been long ago expiated with

¹ BUCHANAN.

² Græcos, Deorum honores tribuisse
illis, qui tyrannos necaverunt. CICERO
pro Milone.

³ Victima haud ulla amplior potest,
Magisve opima mactari Jovi,
Quàm rex iniquus. SENECA *Hero. fur.*

many good. Take this from no mean statist¹: "'Tis an unjust way of accusing, to omit the good offices of a prince, and to select and publish only his bad; for by this means, no magistrate shall be innocent."

As greatness gives a gloss to the virtues of a prince, so it mitigates his vices; for if we look upon him as circled with honour, and all outward enjoyments, we see withal, what variety of temptations he hath to struggle with above others, having no other guard, no other weapon, than his mere virtue; sometimes, we are defended from a sin, by our very impotency; it may be above our sphere, or out of our reach; we do not, because we cannot; how often are our wills offenders, when our hands are innocent! We are checked from without, he commonly from within, having nothing to dispute with his immoderate desires, but himself. This is that which enhances the goodness of a prince, as that excellent poet (Spenser,) leads his temperate knight through all the delicacies and charms of pleasure, and delivers him a conqueror.

But suppose a magistrate really tyrannical; it is no contemptible question, whether the evils of the redress may not be equivalent to the mischief? I remember Livy's, "We can neither abide the disease, nor the remedy²;" and Plutarch's "A civil war is worse than an irregular monarchy³;" and Tacitus, "The humours of kings are to be tolerated, nor is it useful to change them: whilst there are men, there will be vices. The miscarriages of a prince may be great, but the virtues of his successor may be greater⁴:" and Seneca, "He is unfortunately sick, that is more in danger of his physician, than of his disease⁵." Poise the miseries of a civil war, with the grievances of an unjust magistrate, and the politician must make many grains of allowance from fallacy to make the scales even. For though the

¹ Iniqua in omni re accusanda, præmissis bonis, malorum enumeratio, vitiorumque selectio; nam ne ullus quidem isto modo magistratus vituperabilis non erit.

² Nec morbum ferre possumus, nec remedium.

³ Χείρον είναι μοναρχίας παρανόμου πόλεμον ἐμφύλιον.

⁴ Ferenda regum ingenia, neque usui esse crebras mutationes: vitia erunt donec homines, sed neque hæc continua, et meliorum interventu pensantur.

⁵ Infæliciter ægrotat, cui plus periculi à medico quam à morbo.

fury of incensed tyranny may fall heavy upon many particulars, yet the bloody consequences of an intestine sword are more epidemical and more permanent.

As to the charging the faults of a governor upon the government itself, I see nothing in it but delusion, nor can there be a more gross abuse, than to make the office guilty of the officer's abuse¹.

For king-killing, because I know it a techy subject, I shall wholly omit all discourse of it; only I find it damned by an able English divine², as jesuitical; and Tacitus commends to subjects rather *scutum* than *gladium*, the shield of patience and toleration, rather than the sword.

PRINCIPLE IV.

The Politician must nourish some mercenary Jesuits, or other Divines, to cry up his aims in their Churches, that so the poison may insinuate more generally into all the parts.

He that peruses history will find, that there hath been no innovation so gross, no rebellion so hideous, but hath had some ecclesiastical fomenters; for such as want worth enough of their own to reach preferment in a regular way, are most apt to envy the just honours of better men; and despairing to obtain their end by learning and piety, they aspire to it by the crooked means of faction and schism. Nor are those despicable instruments to the politician, for the sharpest sword in his army cannot vie services with a subtle quill. You may see his business in the comic writing³ disputing, that so his tongue is a shield to his patron's opinion, and a sword to his adversaries.

The Jesuit reckons it in the number of his merits, if he may, by any sinister ways, ruffle and disorder heretical kingdoms (so he calls them), encourage weak and unstable minds to slight magistracy, irritate divisions, tumults, rebellions, absolve from

¹ Τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων πονηρίαν ἐπὶ τὰ πράγματα μεταφέρειν.—ISOCRATES.

² Γράψων, βουλευσῶν, καὶ τῇ γλώττῃ πολεμήσων.—ARISTOPHANES.

³ JO. GOODWIN in his *Anticavalris*.

oaths, and all sacred ties ; so that it is hard to find any tragical scene, or bloody theatre, into which the Jesuit hath not intruded, and been as busy, as Davus in the comedy, contributing in a very high measure to every fanatic insolence, justifying the old Lemma of Loyola's picture, *Cavete vobis principes*. These are the fire-brands of Europe, the forge and bellows of sedition¹, infernal emissaries, the pests of the age, men that live as if huge sins would merit heaven by an antiperistasis.

2. Nor is any nation without some turbulent spirit of its own, the dishonour of the gown and pulpit, the shame, and sometimes the ruin, of their country ; you would think they had their text from a gazette, because you hear so much of a curranto in the application ; that these may be fit implements for the politician, there are these requisite qualifications.

1. There must be a principal gift of wresting the Scripture, vexing and urging the holy text, constraining it to patronize the design ; the great Apostle expresses this in three very emphatical terms • 1. Cogging the Die, making the Word speak what they list². 2. Crafty applications, and expositions of it³. All the methods and arts of cozenage⁴, gilding and varnishing rotten doctrines⁵. And this must be done,

1. In public, vomiting out flames and sulphur from that sacred Pegma, where he should deliver none but mild and soft, that is, evangelical embassages.

2. In private, at parlour sermons⁶, and meeting-houses, where he is listened to as an oracle ; and here commonly he is more enthusiast than scripturist, and his auditors believe his dreams to be as canonical as the Revelation ; like those Melancthon speaks of, Their dreams are all new lights⁷ ; or those that the Father chides, when he tells them that every whimsey is not prophecy⁸.

3. He ought to be of some abilities in disputing ; and what he wants in logic, he must supply in garrulity : for whatsoever he affirms, the interest he hath in his seduced hearers, improves into

¹ Classica canere.

² Κυβεία.

³ Πανουργία.

⁴ Μεθοδεία πλάνης.

⁵ Ωραιοῦνται καὶ χρυσιάζονται λόγοις.

⁶ Οἰκοφθοροί. Evangelioptiori.

⁷ Quicquid somniant, volunt esse Spiritum Sanctum.

⁸ Οὐ πῶν ἐννύχιον ζυθὸς προφητεία.

a syllogism. You ask after his topics, he hath his arguments from Gregory, but not the saint¹. If, after his weapons, he carries the name of Christ in the van of rebellion and robbery²; and the wound he makes is faction; those consciences which will not surrender to his parley, his master takes by storm³: and thus he abuses Christ, by pretending his favour to unwarrantable actions: he abuses his prince, by alienating the affections of his subjects; the Church, by shattering it into rents and schisms, wounding it with a feather from its own wing, snatching a coal from the altar, to fire both Church and State⁴; and lastly, he abuses himself; for when the politician hath made his best use of his seditious spirit, he leaves him to his own wild distempers, having directed his own thoughts to another goal.

COLASTERION.

Although we have caution enough against these in sad and frequent experiences, these latter ages groaning under the effects of an exorbitant clergy; yet such is the easiness and credulity of the vulgar, such the subtlety and dissembled sanctity of the impostor, that he meets with as great a proneness in the people to be cozened, as he brings willingness to delude; for it is a true observation, that these clancular sermocinators bear as great sway in popular minds, and make as deep impresson upon their consciences, as the loyalists do when they impose upon their blind laity.

I dare only subjoin a few advices.

First, I should suspect a clerical statist, I mean such a one as in the dispensation of sacred oracles, tampers with secular affairs, unless it be in case of high concernment to his auditors' souls.

Secondly, I should believe him a juggler, that sprinkles his sermons with murmurs against the lawful magistrate, ecclesiastical or civil; unless he hath some better ground for his dislike, than a thwarting his humour in things controversial and adia-phorous.

¹ Ex officina carnificum argumenta petit.—POPUL. ΤΑΧΥΓΡΕΦΙΑ.—S. HIER.

² Armat se ad latrocinium per Christi nomen.

³ STRADA.

⁴ Ecclesie nomine armamini, et contra ecclesiam dimicatis.—AUG.

Thirdly, I should more than doubt his knavery, that should suborn Scripture, to attest, or incite to illegal actions, as of kin to that which Salvian calls religious wickedness¹.

Fourthly, All news in religion, whether in doctrine or discipline, is the common screen of private design². Let Mæcenas tell it, "All innovators in religion, let them be severely punished, for they are fomentors of sedition³." Which is noted by the great Casaubon in his Epistle before his Baronian exertations, thus: "Novelties in the Church are never without these sad consequences; they rend the seamless coat of our blessed Saviour; they breed schisms, and then brood and multiply them; they shake the fundamentals of the Church and State⁴," &c.

'Tis sad to see Urania, divine Urania, enrolled in blood; the stars and luminaries of the Church, to shed such black and malignant influences; in lieu of pious documents to hear none but furious incentives;

No matter for the church, or laws.

You may confide in such a cause⁵.

The cause they serve is the doctrine, and the use, the egg, the apple, the head and foot of all their discourses⁶; if you like to confer notes, you may find a piece of their sermon in Barclay, to this effect; "They extol evangelical liberty, that no Christian minds should be yoked with Christ's government, that all should enjoy free consciences; that the Gospel is soft and mild, nor does it seek to reduce any by violence: they beg the same enlargement and scope for themselves, which they gladly allow to others⁷."

¹ Religiosum scelus.

² Καυοφωρία.

³ Τοὺς δὲ ξενίζοντας τὴν περὶ τῆς εὐσεβείας, καὶ μίσει καὶ κολαξεί, πολλοὺς γὰρ ἀναπειθοῦσιν ἀλλοτριονομεῖν. — Apud DION CASSIUS.

⁴ Cupiditas novandi hæc secum mala semper trahit; Christi inconsutilem tunicam lacerat, sectas novas parit, et statim multiplicat, ecclesiam et populum concutit, &c.

⁵ Ite alacres, tantæque, precor, confidite causæ.

⁶ PAPIRIUS.

⁷ Se Evangelii libertatem prædicare, nullam Christianis animis vim inferre, suam cuique conscientiam liberam relinquere, verbo ducere, non vi quemquam adigere; eam esse Evangelii doctrinam, ut omnes conscientiæ fruantur libertate: sibi que ut id liceat, votis omnibus postulare.—*Con. Monarch.* p. 32.

PRINCIPLE V.

If Success waits upon his Enterprises, he urges it to authenticate his Cause.

THERE is no argument more popular than success, because the bulk of men is not able to distinguish the permission of God from his approbation: and although it be in itself fallacious and feeble, yet the misery of the conquered denies them the opportunity to dispute it; for the opposition of the sword will never be confuted by the bare fist of logic. Nor doth the victor commonly permit any ventilation of his dictates; for when the body is a slave, why should the reason be free¹? As the soldiers in Plutarch wondered why any would be so importunate to preach laws, and moral reasons, to men with swords by their sides²; as if arms knew not how to descend to rational inquiries, but were enough justified by an odd kind of necessity of their own creating; like those in Livy³, that all laws are engraved on the hilt of a victorious sword, to whose mandamus all other statutes must submit.

I have often considered with myself, what should move tyrants to print justifications of themselves, and assertions of their proceedings, which, I suppose, never made an understanding man a convert, nor met with a cordial reception in any, unless the abuse of a few, poor shallow believers, be thought a triumph worth their pains. I have sometimes thought, they do by these papers please themselves in their abilities to delude, and so gratify their tyranny over the noblest part of man, by denying the liberty of the thought, and subduing the powers of the soul to an implicit coherence with their own magisterial opinions.

But our politician, by quoting the success of his undertakings, besides the plausibleness and insinuating nature of the

¹ Δούλος πέφυκας, οὐ μέτεστί σοι λόγου. *In Pompejo.*

² Οὐ πάνσεσθε ἡμιν ὑπεζωσμένοις ξίφη, νόμους ἀναγινώσκοντες.

³ In armis jus ferre, et omnia fortium virorum esse.

proposition itself, hath the advantage of power to make us believe him.

Nor is this bait contemptible; many of parts and prudence, yea and of religion, have been staggered by it. Some question whether Dionysius deserved the brand of atheism, considering the wild conceits they then had of their gods; or differed from the common creed, crying out, "O how the gods favour sacrilege!" when he had a merry gale after a sacrilegious attempt. The best of the Roman historians calls the victory, the just arbitress of the cause: "The event of the war, like an impartial judge, shall knit victory and right together¹:" so hard is it to persuade mere reason, that virtue may be unfortunate, and vice happy.

He was no small poet, that argued himself out of his gods, by seeing wickedness honoured, and worth slighted: which he expresses thus²:

Licinus does in marble sleep,
A common urn does Cato keep,
Pompey's ashes may catch cold;
That there are gods, let dotards hold.

There may be some use made of that in Seneca, "Prosperous mischiefs are cardinal virtues in the world's ethics³;" and, therefore the tragedian repeats it⁴. The unwarrantableness is hid and concealed in the glory of the success; we often praise the Macedonian conquest, but seldom mention their boundless and unjust ambition.

On the contrary, if an undertaking really good miscarry, we censure it: so that according to the vogue of the world, it is the event that gives the colour to the action, and denominates it good or bad. "We adore the fortunate, and despise the conquered⁵."

COLASTERION.

There is some of this leaven in the judgments of most, notwithstanding those brighter discoveries, in the noon of Chris-

¹ *Eventus belli, velut æquus iudex, unde jus stat, ei victoriam dabit.*

² *Marmoreo Licinus tumulto jacet, at Cato parvo, Pompeius nullo; quis putet esse Deos?*

³ *Honestæ quædam scelera successus facit.*

⁴ *Prosperum ac felix scelus virtus vocatur. Hero. Fur.*

⁵ *Τὸ κρατῆσον τιμῶμεν, τὸ ἀπολωλὸς κατατρέχομεν.*

tianity we live under. A Bible, thoroughly observed, would expound to us much of the riddle, and dark passages of Providence: we are so short-sighted, that we cannot see beyond time; we value things, and men, by their temporal prosperities, and transient glories; whereas, if we put eternity into the other scale, it would much out-poise that worldly lustre, that so much abuses our eye, and cozens our understandings.

I find not in holy writ, that God hath inseparably annexed goodness and greatness, justice and victory: He hath secured his servants of the felicities of a better life, but not of this. Christ's kingdom was not, our happiness is not, of this world.

Nor doth my Bible show me any warrant for appeal to heaven for the decision of this, or that intricacy: by bestowing success upon this party, or that cause, according to its righteousness, and due merit. There is a vast difference betwixt ἀνύχημα and ἀδίκημα, even in Scripture construction.

The great Turk may justly exult and prune himself in discourses of this nature, if they be once admitted, and owned by Christians: and I shall forbear any longer to think Mahomet an impostor, and must receive the Alcoran for Gospel, if I shall be convinced, that temporal happiness and triumph are a true index of Divine favour. Our religion hath something more to invite our closure with it; it proposes a conveniency on earth, but the crowns and garlands are reserved for heaven.

The money-god in Aristophanes¹, pretends a command from Jupiter, to distribute as great a largess to the wicked, as the good; because if Virtue should once impropriate riches, that fair goddess would be more wooed for her dowry, than for her native beauty: so if Religion were attended with those outward allurements that most take the senses, we should be apt to follow Christ for the loaves, and overlook the spiritual charms, and more noble ends of Christianity.

The heathen could say, "Happy piracy is a thing of unhappy precedency²;" fortunate sins may prove dangerous temptations; but to say that God doth signally attest the actions of such a person, or the justice of such a cause, by permitting it to prosper,

¹ In Πλουτῷ.

² Fœlix prædo, mundo exemplum inutile.

and taper up in the world, is such a deceit, as deserves our serious abhorrence—I leave it with Ovid's wish¹:

Let him for ever in success be poor,
That thinks it justifies his cause the more.

PRINCIPLE VI.

The Politician must change with the Times.

THAT alterations and revolutions in kingdoms are the rods with which God scourges miscarrying princes, is resolved by my Lord of Argenton: to which may be added out of Aristotle, in the fifth of his *Politiques*,—"That the ruins of a kingdom are often derived from fraud and subtleties". I shall omit an inquiry into other causes, as foreign to my present purpose.

The politician knows best how to improve these popular gusts, because he caused them: such a storm is his seed-time. It is the boast of a Dutchman, that he can sail with all winds: the aspiring man observes the quarter whence the fairest gales of preferment blow, and spreads the sails of his ambition to entertain them; nor can the compass breathe more varieties, than his dexterous soul has changes, and garbs, and suitable compliances.

What the orator calls his top and perfection, to make happy application to the several humours and genius of all sorts of men, qualifying his address with what he knows will most charm the person he treats; that the politician does not only with his lip, but life: you may find all those figures and tropes digested into his actions, and made practical, that are in the other only vocal.

He remembers that an English marquis (Pawlet of Winchester²) who having successfully served four princes, and still in the same room of favour, unshaken with the vicissitudes he had run through; being asked by one, by what means he pre-

¹ — Careat successibus opto,
Quisquis ab eventu facta notanda
putat.

² Per fraudem et dolum regna ever-
tuntur.

³ NANTON'S *Regalia*.

served his fortune? he replies that he was made of the pliant willow, not stubborn oak¹; always of the prevailing religion, and a zealous professor. This easiness and bending is of absolute necessity; for if the same temper, which insinuated in violent times, were retained in a composed and settled government, it would be altogether distasteful; and so, on the contrary.

Therefore, if religion be fashionable, you can scarcely distinguish him from a saint: he does not only reverence the holy ministers, but, if need be, he can preach himself: if cunctation prevails, he acts Fabius: if the buckler must be changed for a sword, he personates Marcellus: if mildness be useful, Soderini of Venice was not more a lamb than he: if severities are requisite, Nero's butcheries are sanctities, compared with his: as Alcibiades, in Plutarch, shifted disposition as he altered place (being voluptuous and jovial in Ionia, frugal and retired in Lacedæmon) so he proportions himself to time, place, person, religion, with such a plausibleness, as if he had been born only to serve that opinion, which he harboured but as a guest, while it continued in sway: having a room in his heart, if occasion be, to lodge the contrary, and to cry it up with as much ardour, as he once used to extol the former. And thus, like a subtle Proteus, he assumes that shape that is most in grace, and of most profitable conducement to his ends. All his consultations turn upon the hinge of self-interest².

He abounds in that which Varro calls a voluble wit, like the changeling derided by Plautus, as more turning than a potter's wheel³.

He hath this advantage of theameleon, that he can assume whiteness; for I find him often wearing the vest of innocency, to conceal the ugliness and blackness of his attempts.

Finally, he is the heliotrope to the sun of honour, and hath long since abjured his God, religion, conscience, and all that shall interpose, and screen him from those beams, that may ripen his wishes and aims into enjoyments.

¹ Ex salice, non ex quercu.

² In eo stant consilia, quod sibi conducere putat.

³ Versatile ingenium; rota figulari versatilior.

COLASTERION.

But the true statesman is inviolably constant to his principles of virtue and religious prudence; his ends are noble, and the means he uses, innocent: he hath a single eye on the public good; and, if the ship of the state miscarry, he had rather perish in the wreck, than preserve himself upon the plank of an inglorious subterfuge. His worth hath led him to the helm; the rudder he uses is an honest and vigorous wisdom; the star he looks to for direction is in heaven; and the port he aims at is the joint welfare of prince and people.

This constancy is that solid rock upon which the wise Venetian hath built its long-lived republic: so that it is not improbable the maiden queen borrowed her motto of *Semper eadem* from this maiden commonwealth.

It is true, something is to be conceded to the place, and time, and person; and I grant that there are many innocent compliances, Virgil's *obliquare sinus*, is observable, there may be a bending without a crookedness; we may *circumire*, and yet not *aberrare*; Paul became a Jew, that he might gain the Jews, but he did not become a sinner, that he might gain sinners; he was made all things to all men, but he was not made sin to any; that is, his condescensions were such, as did well consist with his Christian integrity.

Greatness, and honours, and riches, and sceptres, those glorious temptations that so much enamour the doting world, are too poor shrines for such a sacrifice as conscience, which the politician hath so much abused by an inveterate neglect, that it is become menstruous, ephemeral.

PRINCIPLE VII.

If the Politician find reason to impose Oaths, let them be of such ambiguity, as may furnish with a sense obliging to the design, and yet so soft, as the people may not feel the snare.

It appears, by sad experience, that in propounding of oaths, requiring promises, and other solemn ties, there have been multitudes induced to bind themselves upon some secret, loose, and mental reservation; which they have framed to themselves as a *salvo* in case of breach: so apt we are, in affairs of greatest importance, to advise more with corrupt wit, than sound conscience.

In the catalogue of self-delusions, you may possibly find these:

1. We are ready to interpret the words too kindly, especially if they be ambiguous; and it is hard to find terms so positive, but that they may be eluded indeed, or seem to us to be so, if we be disposed.

2. Some are invited to illicit promises, *quia illicit*, because they know them to be invalid.

3. Some are frightened into these bonds, by threats, and losses, and temporal concernments, and then they please themselves that they swear by duress, and so are disengaged.

4. Some are oath-proof; I mean, there are such sear-souled men, as will swear *pro* and *con*.

5. Some have learned from the civilians, that though we swear to a thing not materially unlawful, yet, if it impedes a greater moral good, it becomes void¹.

6. Some take liberty to swear, because they judge the person to whom they swear incapable of an oath: as Cicero defends the breach of oath to a thief, from perjury; and Brutus, to a tyrant: as it is in Appian², "The Romans esteem it an honest perjury, to violate their faith with tyrants."

The first sort of these falls most properly under the notice

¹ GROT. *de Jur. Belli*, 245.

² 'Οὐδὲν πιστόν ἐστι βασιλείας πρὸς τύραννους, οὐδ' ἔργον.

and practice of our politician ; though he may also use the last, but at different times.

It is not difficult for him to cast his desire into such soft glib expression, as will down with most : yea, with many that would absolutely disavow the same thing in rough language. If he be unskilled in this black art, I commend him to the pedagogy of the Delphic devil.

Now it is most certain, there is no other tie of such security, and establishment, to a person that hath ravished greatness, and acquired it by violence. Usurpation hath only these two pillars, its own arms and militia, and public oath and acknowledgment ; and it is scarce worth query, whether, when the gross of a nation is thus bound, the oath be not as valid, and the conscience as much concerned, as if it had been sworn to a lawful prince. It is reasonable, that an usurping power cannot, upon any prudent persuasion, have the same confidence in the love of the people that a just one hath : nor is the following government enticing, as Tacitus notes, " Never any kingdom, badly acquired, was well administered ¹." The same with Cuazzo, where one, objecting the vices of princes, receives this answer, " Therefore they were not natural princes, but violent usurpers, and so more beholding to the fear than love of their subjects ²." And therefore if the politician can, by the blessed means fore-mentioned, gain a superiority, there is no trusting to those ingenious guards, his own goodness, and the love of others : his best defence is awe, and fear, and scaffold, and gibbet, and the like. For he that hath no voluntary room in the hearts of his people, must use all means to gain a coercive.

For his own promises, he puts them into the same bottomless bag, which, the poets say, Jupiter made for lovers' asseverations : his word is as good as his oath ; for they are both trifles, as it is in Plautus :

A bargain shall no bargain be,
If I can no advantage see ;
A bargain shall a bargain be,
If it with my designs agree ³.

¹ Nec quisquam imperium malis artibus quesitum benè administravit.

² Perchè non erano principi per natura, ma per violenza ; ed erano più

temuti che amati. *De civil. convers.* l. 2, p. 132.

³ Pactum non pactum est, non pactum pactum est, cum illis lubet. *Aulular.*

It was he that first invented that useful distinction of a lip-oath, and a heart-oath; you may find him in Euripides.

I with my tongue can swear,
And with my heart forbear¹.

He makes good use of that in Plutarch, that children are to be cozened with rattles, and men with oaths².

It is an huge advantage, that man hath in a credulous world, that can easily say and swear to anything; and yet, withal, so palliate his falsifications and perjuries, as to hide them from the cognizance of most; the politician must be furnished with handsome refuges, that may seemingly heal miscarriages this way. He need not spend much time in inquiry after such helps; these declining ages will abundantly furnish his invention.

COLASTERION.

An oath is, in itself, a religious affirmation, a promise with God's seal; and therefore it concerns Christians to be cautelous before swearing, to swear liquidly, and to observe conscionably. It is a pity such slender evasions should satisfy us, as have been scorned by heathens. We are bound (says one of them) to the sense of the imposer, or else we do *ψευδορκεῖν*; we are bound to the performance of what we have thus sworn, or else we do *ἐπιωρκεῖν*: it is much, that a moral conscience should more check them, than a clearer light can awe us: as if they more honoured the genius of a Cæsar, than we reverence the presence of a God: or else we should never engage in new protestations that do infer, yea, and sometimes positively quarrel with old. They had their *Θεοὶ ἐπιόρκοι*, their perjury-revenging gods, to whose vindictive power they referred their offenders: they punished such as swore falsely by their prince with fustigation; but such as abused their gods, were left to the dispose of their injured deities, as if they were at a loss how to find a punishment equal to their sin. Hear how soberly Plato mentions (out of the noble commentator upon Philostratus), "It is wisely ordained, that the names of the gods should not be used upon trifling

¹ Jurata lingua est, mente juravi nihil.

² Τοὺς μὲν παῖδας ἀστραγαλοῖς δεῖν ἐξασπᾶν, τοὺς δ' ἄνδρας ὀρκοῖς. *Απορρ.*

occasions, for fear of polluting them ; for the majesty of the gods should not be employed, but in holy and venerable purity¹.” See what real honour they gave to their counterfeit gods ; let us have a care, that we ascribe not counterfeit honour to the true God.

Our God hates every false oath : it appears in his severity to Zedekiah, for breaking covenant with the Babylonian monarchy, though a tyrant of the first magnitude².

Were all subjects duly solicitous about the weight of this bond, we should be less prone to take, and more studious to observe it ; I remember the scholiast upon Aristophanes, derives *ἄρκος*, παρὰ τὸ εἶργω, τὸ Συγκλείω, ὅθεν καὶ τὸ ἄρκος, ὅτι εἶρκει τὸν ὀρκοῦμενον. “It hedges in, and shuts up a man, and ties his hands behind him.” I know not how some conquerors may cut this knot with the sword, or how some Sampsons may shake off these cords, or what gaps the licentious may make in this hedge ; but such as value God, or heaven, or prince, or peace can discover it in no way better than in a sincere use of so divine an ordinance.

There can be no certain rule given, when to believe, and when not, what such as are, or would be great, please to inculcate to us. I find more wrecks upon the rock of credulity : and it is no heresy to affirm, that many have been saved by their infidelity. I commend that of Epicharmus,

Nāφε, καὶ μέμνᾱσο ἀπιστεῖν.

PRINCIPLE VIII.

Necessity of a State is a very competent Apology for the worst of actions.

It has been observed, that in all innovations and rebellions (which ordinarily have their rise from pretences of religion, or reformation, or both), the breach and neglect of laws have

¹ En toutes manières c'est un fort belle ordinance et institution, de n'user point du nom des dieux légèrement, de peur de les contaminer : car

la majesté des dieux ne se doit employer, qu'en un sainte et venerable pureté.

² CASSAUBON *Exercit. 202.*

been authorized by that great patroness of illegal actions—necessity¹.

Now the politician is never without such an advocate as this; for he cares not to distinguish, whether the necessity be of his own creating or no, as for the most part it is, being indeed an appendix to the wrong he undertakes, and signifies no more than that he is compelled to cover wrong with wrong, as if the commission of a second sin were enough to justify the first.

He changes that old charitable advice: *Benefacta benefactis aliis pertegito ne perpluant*; into *Vitia vitiis aliis pertegito ne perpluant*: that so, heaping one crime upon another, the latter may defend the former from the stroke of justice.

He adores the maxim in Livy: "That war must needs be just that is necessary, and those arms pious that are all our livelihood²." It were very incongruous to desire that man to leave his crutch, that cannot walk without; it is no less unnatural to invite him to quit his sword, whose life and fortune lean entirely upon it.

If he can insinuate the scope of the war to be legal, a little daubing will serve to legalize the circumstances; that of the civilians must be remembered: "Nothing is unlawful in war, that serves the end and design of it³:" the oracles of the 'gown are too tender for swordsmen; and it may be, he had wit in his anger, who affirmed, that martial law was as great a solecism, as martial peace.

If the people be once possessed that his aim and intention is fair, they will never expect that the *media* for attainment of his end should be retrenched by the strict boundaries of law: he manages that rule very practically: "I may invade anything of any man's that threatens certain danger to me, if I suffer him to enjoy it⁴." Now he can very plausibly make this *periculum*, *certum*, or *incertum*, as shall best suit with his affairs.

It is a broad liberty that Grotius concedes: "If I have no other way to assure my life, I may by any means repel any power

¹ Ἐχθρα ἀναγκή, *Sæva necessitas*.

² Justum est bellum quibus necessarium, et pia arma quibus in armis spes est.

³ Licere in bello quæ ad finem sunt

necessaria. VICTOR. *de Jure Belli*, n. 18. 39.

⁴ Rem alienam, ex quâ certum mihi periculum eminet, citra culpæ alienæ considerationem invadere possum.

that assaults it, though just: self-defence being a clear dictate of nature¹." When life, and liberty, and safety come in question, there ought no consideration to be had of just or unjust, pitiful or cruel, honourable or dishonourable.

Now when the people have, according to his desire, got over the great obstacle, and digested the plot for pious, it is easy to set all future proceeding upon the score of liberty, safety, religion: and, if he be constrained to use means grossly unlawful, it is but to make them seem holy in the application, and all is well. For it is the humour and genius of the vulgar, when they have once rushed into a party implicitly, to prosecute it as desperately as if they were under demonstrative convictions of its justice.

Finally, He must make a virtue of necessity, because there is no other virtue which will so easily be induced to serve his proceedings as this; she may well smile upon licentiousness, who hath herself no law.

COLASTERION.

Let that great rule be received, that no man can be necessitated to sin: our divines generally damn an officious lie; and the equity binds from any officious sin.

It would soon cut the nerves of the eighth commandment, if necessities and urgencies, though real, were pronounced a sufficient excuse for stealing. But that which our politician calls necessity, is no more than necessity of convenience, nor so much, except we interpret that convenience, which may favour his own ends, and so is convenient for his design. He uses necessity as the old philosophers did an occult quality, though to a different purpose; that was their refuge for ignorance, this is his sanctuary for sin.

Those civilians² that are most charitable to necessity, make it no plea at all, except it be absolute and insuperable; as by the Platonic laws, only those persons are allowed to drink at their neighbour's well, that had in vain sought a spring, by digging

¹ Quare si vitam aliter servare non possum, licet mihi vi qualicunque arcer eum qui eam impetit, licet peccato vacet; et hoc ex jure, quod mihi pro me natura concedit. *S. de Jure Belli*, p. 424. *Мачч. on Livy*, 627.

² *Less*, l. ii. c. 12. dub. 12. un. 17.

fifty cubits deep in their own ground. We allow the disburdening of a ship, in imminent peril of wreck; but this will not excuse those, who, upon a fond or feigned prævision of a state-tempest, shall immediately cast law and conscience overboard; discard and quit rudder and steerage, and so assist the danger they pretend to fear.

Pausanias tells of a chapel in Acrocorinth¹ dedicated to Necessity and Violence; those twin goddesses may be fit objects for the worship of heathens; but it is a pity they should be so much adored by Christians.

If I mistake not, the fundamental deceit lies in a greedy entertaining those first pretences, and seemingly candid propositions, that are made to us, before they have passed those scrutinies and severe inquiries they deserve; or been examined by the test of God's word, and national laws: all the rest are but ugly consequences of that absurdity we first granted; according to the ancient philosophic maxim, *Ἐνὸς ἀτόπου δοθέντος, πολλὰ ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι συμβάλλειν.*

PRINCIPLE IX.

The Politician must waive all Relations, both sacred and civil, and swim to his design, though in a Sea of Blood.

SUCH as study to be great by any means, must by all means forget to be good; and they that will usurp dominion over others, must first become slaves to the worst of tyrants, a lust after greatness.

Crescit interea Roma Albæ ruinis, begins one of the Decads; that the walls of Rome were cemented with blood, is known and commended by Machiavel²; although the superstructure was brave, yet, if we search the foundation, we shall find it laid in the red ruins of her wasted neighbours; that the first founder became a fratricide upon reason of state, to guard his new conquest by freedom from a competitor, is not only vindicated from cruelty, but asserted to be a piece of meritorious policy. Nor

¹ *Cal. Rhodig.* 1025.

² *Upon Liv.* l. 2. c. 3.

Thebe mari-

tum, Timoleon fratrem, Cassius filium
hoc jure interfecére.

did this happen to the city in its structure alone, but after, in its reparation; when the sons of Brutus were sacrificed to the design of their father: so that Rome was not only nursed with blood, but after growth and ripeness, she sustained herself, lived and thrived upon *magna et sanguinolenta latrocinia*; so that our politician can scarce want examples in the applauded actions of this city, to patronize the most crimson and scarlet sin, that ambition can prompt.

He admires the generosity of Nero's mother, who is reported to have said of her son: "Let my son be my murderer, so he may be a monarch¹." According to the advice of a high spirited fury, "An empire cannot be purchased too dear though it cost the blood of millions²."

He is much taken with the gallantry of the Mamelukes, who abused the easiness of the Egyptian sultan, and wore the supremacy three hundred years, upon the length and keenness of an usurping sword.

And rather than want a bongrace, he commends the Ottoman wisdom; for the great Turk rivets himself to the imperial chair, with the bones of his murdered brethren. Aspiring desires are not only insatiate, but admit of any sin, that will promote their ends: see Basanius murdering his brother Geta in his mother's arms; Andronicus strangling his cousin Alexius, lest he should have a part in the empire that had right to all; see Cæsar slighting the oaths by which he had obliged his obedience to the Roman senate.

Finally, Ambition knows no confinement, nothing so sacred but it violates. The gods must bow and yield to it; as Tertullian—"It is impossible to be ambitious without injury to the gods; temples themselves are not exempted from the fury of the war; the sacrileges of the Romans were as numerous as their trophies, yet the gods followed their triumphant chariots³."

¹ Ἀποκτεινάτω με, μόνον βασιλεύ-
σάτω.

² Pro regno velim patriam, penates,
conjugem flammis dare, imperia pretio
quolibet constant benè.

³ Id negotium sine Deorum injuriâ
non est, eadem strages mœnium ut
templorum; tot sacrilegia Romanorum,
quot trophæa; tot de Diis quot de
gentibus triumphî.

COLASTERION.

The Italian politician seems to intimate a scruple, when he says: *Si jus violandum est, regnandi causâ violandum est.* His (if) dictates an uncertainty; and if we appeal to the bar of nature, or divinity, (though possibly the entire assertion may have something of truth,) yet we shall find that wicked (if) absolutely banished.

It is true, we may more justly pity him that swallows a bait fair and glistening, than a person that tempts temptations to deceive him, or catches at flies, and trifling allurements; because in the first case, a greater reluctancy is requisite, and the dart may possibly be so sharp as to pierce through the armour of a sober resolution; but all this will little succour him, who knows it to be a bait, and hath beforehand designed its beauty and fairness, to apologize for the foulness of the sin; for here the greatness of the temptation will not at all extenuate the grossness of the crime: no more than he mitigates his robbery, who shall plead, that he stole nothing but gold and jewels.

The world is much mistaken in the value of a sceptre or a crown; we gaze upon its brightness, and forget its brittleness; we look upon its glory, and forget its frailty; we respect its colour, and take no notice of its weight. But if all those gay things which we fondly fancy to ourselves are really to be found in greatness, yet still he pays too dear, that pawns his heaven for it; he that thus buys a short bliss, gives not twenty, or an hundred years' purchase, but (if mercy prevent it not) eternity.

It will be little advantage here, to introduce the example of a Roman, or Turk, or Christian, if unlawful; such precedents may perchance baffle the vulgar (in whose creed you may insert what you please), but will be very cold answers, when we appear before a severe tribunal: it concerns us rather to observe, how ambition claims kindred with every other vice, stoops and takes up every sin that lies in its way; and, if upon inquiry we find it to be indeed such a complicated mischief, it will become us studiously to shun it ourselves, and seriously to detest it in others.

PRINCIPLE X.

A general Innovation contributes much to the Growth and Security of Usurpation.

WE may receive this as a tradition, handed to us from the great patriarchs of policy, attested by the practice of the subtlest times; I presume it may be grounded upon these, or the like persuasions.

1. Because such an innovation raises the dust, and begets a cloud for the main design; for when the waters are troubled, it is hard to see the bait.

2. Because the parenthesis betwixt an old and new government flatters the hopes of all parties, soothing those desires that are for a relapse into the old, and yet encouraging those that wish for the establishment of a new.

3. Because, when all things are reduced into a chaos and a rude heap, when all the lines and lineaments of the former government are blotted out, that which is new written will be more legible, and the old sooner forgotten: for suppose a kingdom made a lump, without shape and void, and it is, like *materia prima*, prone to embrace any form; when an instrument is dis-tuned, you may set it to what key you please: and he that cannot sometimes loosen the strings, will never make good music upon Synesius's harp.

4. Because, by new moulding of jurisdictions, and offices of state, there may be a fair opportunity offered, of gratifying those that have served us; and for others, it is very familiar to see some stubborn and rigid opinionators, who have continued long unshaken, either by threat or argument, at length to surrender their principles, and bow the knee before the Dagon of honour and riches; such is the flexanimous power of golden eloquence, as it is in the adage:

The two great pillars which the mind uphold,
Not being mammon-proof, do bow to gold¹.

Besides, we can find no better way to breed an absolute

¹ Τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν σοφίαν νικῶσι χελῶναι.

dependence, and make others adhere to our fortunes, than by winding the concerns of other men upon the same bottom with our interest; we may observe this from the practice of great favourites, who always delight in these props, and are careful to set their whole tribes in the sunshine of favour.

5. Because such a general deordination gives a taste and relish to the succeeding government, though in itself not so delectable; for Aristotle notes, that democracy is better than anarchy¹.

There are many other advantages to be made by a due improvement of those turbid intervals; as the occasion of subdividing, and parcelling out your great end; for, by this means, they which refused to close with it in gross, will receive it in retail: and having entertained some portions of it, the grudge they bore to the whole, will be by degrees quieted and appeased.

Besides, when all things are ruffled and confused, it is then the devil's holiday, and therefore our work-day; the noise is so loud, that it drowns the voice of the law; and there may be some truth in his waggers, who said, That such as mean to commit rape upon the body politic, must put out the laws; as others upon a like occasion, use to put out the lights.

Finally, if we ever hope to sin with impunity, to usurp prosperously, or to govern arbitrarily; we must take out that lesson in *Plantus*:

If my own affairs require,
I can set the state on fire.
Let the ruined kingdom bleed,
So my private ends may speed;
I can dance in such a storm,
'Tis a new way to reform².

COLASTERION.

It is most certain, that sinister ends are promoted by innovations; but it lies in our bosoms to promote or quench the innovations themselves: which we can no way better do, than by a

¹ 3 *Pol.*

² Idem facere, quod plurimi alii, quibus res timida aut turbida est: pergunt

turbare usque, ut ne quid possit con-
quiescere.

strict adherence to the laws; for as long as we maintain them, they will maintain us: if we observe these, it will rescue us from the hands of state novelists; for we are not fit for their turns, till we are cross biased with faction.

As a caution against changes in government, give me leave to repeat, what was long since told us by an ingenious lord¹: That all great mutations are dangerous; even where what is introduced by that mutation, is such as would have been very profitable upon a primary foundation: and it is none of the least dangers of change, that all the perils and inconveniences which it brings, cannot be foreseen; and therefore, such as make title to wisdom, will not undergo great dangers, but for great necessities.

But, further, let me appeal to general experience: yea, let me ask thee, reader, if thou hast never before heard, or read of a nation, that was once the gaze and envy of its neighbours; and yet being insensible of its happiness, or possessed with fond hopes of bettering its condition, has closed with pretended friends, and real enemies, and gladly contributed to its own ruin.

So apt are men to catch at the shadow, though they hazard the substance; we may guess at the moral of the frogs in the fable, who could find no satisfaction in a still prince, and were after forced to abide the severities of a tyrant they prayed for.

But if there be such distempers in a state, as shall necessarily require amendment, let it be done with the pruning-hook of the law, and not with the sword of violence; for I never read, that illegal, or tumultuous, or rebellious, were fit epithets for reformation. And it is fit that Christians should forbear the use of such surly physic, till they have levied a fine in the court of heaven, and out of the entail of the seventh beatitude.

This may suffice to reveal, in some measure, *arcanum ambitionis*². I could add much more, but that I judge it is a fitter task for our nephews, when pens shall be enfranchised.

And now, reader, let us mix our prayers, that God would for ever banish this cursed policy out of Europe, and the whole Christian world, and damn it down to hell, from whence originally it came: and let such as delight to abuse others, think of that self-cozenage, with which, in the interim, they abuse them-

¹ FAULKLAND.

² Ὑπερφανίας μυστήριον.

selves; God permitting the devil to revenge the impostor. And whilst we are busy with politic stratagems, and tortuous arms, to invade the rights of others; let us all consider, that this is not the violence which takes heaven.

Let it be a piece of our daily oraisons, that God would guard our pulpits from such *boutefeus*, as, like *Ætna* and *Vesuvius*, belched out nothing but flames, and fiery discourses, using the Scripture as preposterously and impertinently, as some pontificians, who, transported with the vehemence of Hildebrandian zeal, think the temporal monarchy of popes sufficiently Scriptural, from the saying of Christ to Peter¹. Far be it from us to entitle the Spirit of God to exorbitant doctrine: it is easy to distinguish the vulture from the dove. The miscarriages of the clergy have a deeper stain from the sacredness of their function; as probably he, that envenomed the Eucharist, has the more to answer for his triple crown.

It is manifest, that we are fallen into the dregs of time; we live in the rust of the iron age, and must accordingly expect to feel² the dotages of a decrepid world. What is become of truth, sincerity, charity, humility, those *antiqui mores*, whither are they gone? Did they attend *Astræa* into heaven, and have left such degenerate successors, as cruelty, pride, fraud, envy, oppression, &c.; such qualities as abundantly justify the worst of heathens, and dishonour the name of Christians? I think it may safely be affirmed, that if a new *Europæ speculum* were sincerely written, it might be contracted into this short summary:

I know the various humours of our times;
He that is wicked, now inflames his crimes
By making proselytes to hell; and he
Joys in it that he may have company
In rapines, murders, thefts; now none can have
His own, except he be, like them, a knave.
The Church is stripped by sacrilegious hands,
They that divided all, divide the lands³.

Hiulca gens, &c.

Wolves are of late turned shepherds, surely we,
That have such guardians, are extremely free.

¹ Pasce oves.

² Ultima senescentis mundi deliria.

³ Novi ego hoc sæculum quibus moribus sit; malus bonum malum esse vult,

ut sit sui similis; turbant, miscent mores mali; rapax, avarus, invidus, sacrum prophanum, publicum privatum, habebit.

THAT eternal Majesty which raised so brave a fabric out of such indisposed materials; that wields the world with His finger ever since it was made; that controls the waves, and checks the tumult of the people; that sits above, and laughs at the malignant counsels and devices of wicked men; let His mercy be implored for the speedy succour of His distressed Church: that the Rod of Aaron may blossom; that the tabernacle of David may be raised; that the subtle may be caught in their own snare; and that the result of all afflictions may be the greatening of His glory, and exalting of His sceptre.

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THE END.

